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A

CRITICAL HISTORY

OF THE

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

4017.

OF

ANTIENT GREECE.

BY

WILLIAM MURE

OF CALDWELL.

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A

CRITICAL HISTORY,

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BOOK III.

POETICAL PERIOD.—LYRIC POETRY.

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GENERAL HISTORY OF LYRIC COMPOSITION DURING THIS PERIOD.

1. RISE AND EARLY CULTIVATION OF GREEK LYRIC POETRY. — 2. ITS CONNEXION WITH MUSIC. — 3. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ARTS OF MUSIC AND DANCING IN GREECE. — 4. ELEGIAC POETRY. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ELEGIAC MEASURE. — 5. ORIGIN AND EARLY CULTIVATION OF THE ELEGY. — 6. SUPPOSED INVENTORS AND PRINCIPAL MASTERS. — 7. IAMBIC POETRY. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE IAMBIC RHYTHM. EARLY CULTIVATION. — 8. MELIC ORDERS OF LYRIC POETRY. — 9. THE NOME. AULODIC NOMES. OLYMPUS. — 10. CITHARŒDIC NOMES. TERPANDER. — 11. OTHER EARLY POET-MUSICIANS. THALETAS. CLONAS. XENODAMUS. POLYMNESTUS. XENOCRITUS. SACADAS. — 12. SPARTAN INFLUENCE ON GREEK LYRIC ART. — 13. SPARTO-DORIAN SCHOOL OF LYRIC POETRY. — 14. STROPHIC AND CHORAL ORDERS OF LYRIC POETRY. METRICAL DEFINITIONS. MELIC STROPHE. — 15. CHORIC STROPHE. ANTISTROPHE. EPODE. "TRIAD OF STESICHORUS."

1. In the present book it is proposed to offer:

Rise and early cultivation of Greek lyric poetry.

First. A general outline of the history of lyric poetry, in its connexion with the kindred arts of music and dancing.

Secondly. A review of the more remarkable occasions or objects of lyric celebration, and of the varieties of hymn, ode, or song, appropriated or adapted to each.

Thirdly. A biographical notice of the more dis-

tinguished lyric poets of the period, with critical remarks on their genius and works.

Attention has already been directed in the previous book[1] to the origin of lyric poetry, and to the causes which obtained for the sister epic art, if not the palm of prior invention, a preference at least in respect to culture and preservation. It will now be proper to inquire into the circumstances to which, at a later epoch, the Lyric Muse was indebted, in her turn, for an equal share of honourable distinction.

The primary cause of the rise, progress, or decline of every popular art is to be sought in the social condition of the country where it is exercised. The decay of the epic school, the productions of which had hitherto sufficed for the higher poetical wants of the nation, was a consequence partly of changes in the social state of Greece unfavourable to the prosperity or popularity of that school, partly of the tendency of all human art to degenerate after reaching a certain climax of excellence. The same external influences which led to the decline of the one branch of composition, contributed to the improvement and extension of the other.

Epic poetry, as it appears in the age and works of Homer, is the poetry of a whole nation. The honour, the interest, or the ambition of the individual is concentrated around common objects, of a grandeur in the national estimate which requires a corresponding extent and dignity in the works devoted to their celebration. The break up of the old heroic confederacy, the substitution of independant republics for patriarchal monarchies, with the complexity of social interests consequent on advancing civilisation,

[1] Vol. I. p. 168. sqq.

produced a parallel change in the taste for literary pursuit. As the objects of popular ambition became more numerous and varied, the channels for the display of poetical talent were proportionally multiplied. The decay of the heroic minstrelsy, originating in causes peculiar to itself, involved no similar decline in the national genius, which, still buoyant and energetic, sought out the more zealously fresh materials for its exercise. The attempts of Pisander and his contemporaries to enliven by artificial expedients the languor of the superannuated epic style have already been considered. The same thirst for novelty led others to abandon that style altogether, and turn for relief from its dulness to more original sources. The nicer distinction of dialects, coinciding with a like subdivision of the federal body, tended still further to vary and extend the field of literary enterprise. Hence, while the old epic masterpieces still remained the common standards of poetical excellence, the Ionians and Æolians of the Asiatic coast, and the Dorians of Southern Greece, the three races now jointly in the ascendant of the Hellenic body, each started forth to enliven, by some new style of treatment, the new subjects and interests which the progress of society had called into existence.

The more practical or "subjective" tendency of the lyric, as compared with the epic order of composition, is strikingly illustrated in several distinctive features of their respective histories. It can hardly be doubted that the earlier ruder stages of epic poetry abounded in popular ballads, celebrating the heroes or enterprises of the day. Yet in no instance has the author of any great heroic epopee selected his subject from contemporary events. A certain mist of

antiquity was required to magnify both actions and characters to the pitch which constituted them fit subjects for the higher inspirations of the Epic Muse. Her lyric sister, on the other hand, recognises the full rights of the present. She seeks her materials, by preference, in local, or even domestic, sources: in the honour of a patron deity or an illustrious citizen; in a victory which the poet has helped to achieve, or a disaster in which he has participated. The distinction is similarly marked in the personal lot of the authors. In scarcely an instance, if, indeed, one can be found, has a lyric composition of any note been transmitted to posterity anonymously. Not only is the poem, whether a war-song of Tyrtæus, a lampoon of Archilochus, or a love-melody of Mimnermus, invariably identified with the name and person of the author, in most cases through his own allusions to himself or his concerns, but he is often himself the subject of his work.[1] Many of the greatest epic productions, on the other hand, are either unconnected with the name of any poet, or, what is nearly equivalent, are claimed by so many, as to impart not only to the pretensions, but to the existence, of those claimants, a doubtful or mythical character. Nor is there any instance of a distinct allusion contained in a great epic work to its author or his affairs. The first advance towards the individuality of spirit

[1] Hence, too, the number of allusions, direct or indirect, by lyric poets of this period, from Callinus downwards, to each other, or to their fellow epic minstrels; allusions which form some of the most valuable data for the illustration of the obscurer points of Greek literary history. See a catalogue of such passages in Marcksch. Fragm. Hesiod. p. 149. sq., to which additions might be made. No such notices can be discovered either in the text of, or citations from, the epic poets of this period.

which distinguishes the Lyric Muse is observable in the Works and Days of Hesiod. That poem may, accordingly, be said to form an intermediate stage between the two branches of composition, as being the production of a local school of poetry devoted to a comparatively homely class of subjects, and deriving its chief interest from its detailed notices of the author and his domestic affairs.

Its connexion with music.

2. Another important cause or concomitant of the more extended culture of the art of lyric composition was the improvement of that of music. These two arts were, in the early ages of Greece, if not inseparable, so closely connected, that the advance of each from infancy to maturity must have been simultaneous. Lyric composition was invariably destined, at least on occasions of public or festive recital, for musical accompaniment. Purely instrumental music, on the other hand, at all times comparatively little popular among the Greeks[1], could at this early period have exercised proportionally slender influence on the progress of the science. While, therefore, the developement of the more complex forms of poetical metre depended on that of the musical schemes or systems, these, in their turn, were similarly indebted for their extension and refinement to the parallel improvement or complication of the poetical measures to which they were adapted. The adjustment of the accompaniment to the words, on the most delicate ideal principles, thus became essential to the full effect of a lyric performance. Hence that harmony between the genius of the different families of the

[1] Plato repudiated the separation of music from poetry as a corruption of the former art. Legg. 669 D. sq.; conf. Boeckh. de Metr. Pind. 258.

Hellenic race and that of their respective lyric and musical styles, which, in these earlier stages of elegant culture, forms so prominent a feature in the character as well as literature of the nation. The gravity and severity for which the habits and language of the Dorians were proverbial were also the proper attributes of their music and poetry. Among the Æolian colonists, on the other hand, a race of a naturally ardent temperament, and whose primitive patriarchal rudeness, verging on ferocity of manners, was superseded in their new seats by a taste for voluptuous enjoyment, the change in their own character was accompanied by a softening down of the native asperities of their dialect into an apt vehicle for the impassioned strains of Alcæus and Sappho. The more sprightly genius and varied intellect of the Ionians displays itself in the point and precision of the elegiac and iambic orders of composition, which they were the first to cultivate, and with which was associated a spirited but somewhat licentious musical style, as distinct from the severe majesty of the Dorian as from the fervid excitement of the Æolian school.[1]

The nicer relations between the two arts belong to the history of music rather than literature. The analysis of those relations is a subject which, beyond a few elementary facts, is involved in great obscurity. It is one, too, which, even apart from defective historical data, would demand, for the full apprehension of its more subtle details, a depth of insight into the theory of musical science by no means necessary to the general student of classical literature, and which few, even of the most accomplished, can be expected

[1] See Boeckh. de Metr. Pind. p. 238. sqq.

to possess. Poetry and music, to whatever extent they may tend mutually to adorn each other, and vitally as they were linked together among the Greeks, are yet, like architecture and painting, literary composition and elocution, distinct arts. A building may derive much of its effect from the coloured décoration of its walls, or an oration from the eloquence of its recital; but an architect is not, on this account, required to be a painter, nor an elegant writer an orator. Similar is the relation between poetry and music. The office of the poet is to adapt the style of his work, even in the form of expression, or the sound of the words, to the spirit of his subject. The musical accompaniment, like colour in architecture, is but a secondary aid to these primary requisites. A poetical composition which through the vehicle of language alone failed to produce its effect, and was solely dependant on its musical arrangement, would be but a sorry performance.

The question here naturally arises, how far, among the Greeks, the functions of poet and musician may have been combined in the same person. It must certainly have been desirable, in the spirit of the Greek Lyric Muse, in order to secure the requisite harmony between the words and the air of a composition, that both should be the produce of the same genius; and such, there is reason to believe, was frequently the case, in the infancy of musical science, among a people so highly gifted in regard to all the imaginative faculties. But neither probability nor historical data warrant the belief that this was the universal rule[1], or

[1] Among the most celebrated performances of Terpander was his arrangement of portions of the Homeric poems, where a lyric character predominates, as musical nomes. Plut. de Mus. III.

that all the great lyric poets, from Callinus down to Callimachus, were also accomplished musical composers. Nor can it be supposed that the original words would be held at all times inseparable from the original melody. The same ode might acquire popularity in different places, where different musical tastes prevailed. The air might, in such cases, be varied at pleasure, without real detriment to the literary character of the composition. It may also be presumed that, from the earliest period at which the two arts had reached that stage of maturity in which they already appear in the days of Archilochus and Terpander (B.C. 676), there was, besides the public or festive, also the purely literary enjoyment of lyric composition, through the medium of written circulation, without the aid either of voice or instrument.

Wherever the above relation between the two arts was reversed, and the words of an ode became altogether secondary to the air, the case would pass from the province of poetical into that of musical criticism. The parallel of the modern opera is here closely in point. As a general rule, the words of the Italian musical dramas, where not mere vapid commonplace, possess no pretensions to higher poetical excellence. They are but a vehicle for the execution of the music, which is alone responsible for the effect on the audience. There are, however, exceptions to this rule, supplying cases analogous to the Greek lyric rehearsals. Many of the popular dramas of Metastasio, for example, were composed for musical recitation, and the odes in which they abound were arranged to melodies; yet the intrinsic poetical value of those compositions has secured for them, apart from all

musical aids, a permanent popularity with the reading public. If a knowledge of the sister art can be dispensed with in a case where the means of obtaining that knowledge exist, still less essential must it be in one where the utmost extent to which it can be acquired amounts to a few doubtful antiquarian speculations. All, therefore, that here falls strictly within the province of the literary historian is the fact that lyric compositions were, among the Greeks, especially in the public festivals, far more closely and habitually combined than in modern times with musical execution, and that the latter was adapted to the genius of the poem on the most refined ideal principles.[1] As, however, the general connexion between the two arts will necessarily form the subject of frequent allusion in the sequel, it will here be proper, without enlarging on the nicer links of that connexion, to offer a concise notice of the Greek musical systems, and of the terminology by which they are distinguished.

General characteristics of the arts of music and dancing in Greece.

3. The foundation of the Greek art of music[2] was the tetrachord, or four-stringed lyre, an instrument furnishing, as its name indicates, but four distinct sounds or tones. The limited variety of accompaniment which these sounds supplied seems to have sufficed for the recitative of the epic minstrelsy during its flourishing ages. With the progress of lyric art, the number of strings was increased to seven (B.C. 676), the first and last of which, by the omission of a centre tone of the scale, were placed at the interval of an octave from each other. The different key or

[1] See especially Arist. Polit. VIII. vii.; Plato de Legg. p. 669. sq.; Burette, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. vol. x. p. 212.

[2] Boeckh. de Metr. Pind. p. 204. sqq.; Thiersch, Einleit. zu Pind. p. 40. sq.

pitch in which this scale of chords was strung constituted the fundamental distinction between the national styles or harmonies.[1] Of these there were at first but three, the Dorian, Phrygian, and Lydian. The Dorian was in the lowest key; the Phrygian was strung a tone higher than the Dorian; the Lydian a tone higher than the Phrygian. Not long after the regulation of these three primary harmonies two others were invented: the Ionian between the Dorian and Phrygian, the Æolian between the Phrygian and Lydian; the interval between the key note of each harmony and that of the next in order being here, consequently, but half a tone. Besides the key or tone, these styles were characterised by the genius of their metrical numbers.[2] The Dorian measure was distinguished by a grave and equable modification of notes, and a corresponding arrangement of the words, with a prevalence of long syllables and uniform succession of feet. In the Phrygian and Lydian, and their respective modifications, the Æolian and Ionian, a livelier, more flexible, sometimes turbulent or enthusiastic rhythm was preferred. In the different harmonies, these peculiarities of national style depended mainly for their developement on the different modes of applying to each the three musical scales or "genera," still familiarly known under the titles of diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic; according to which the seven notes of the octave were intonated, and the intervals between each note regulated, in the adaptation of the instrument to different styles of performance.[3]

[1] Boeckh. de Metr. Pind p. 212. sqq.; Thiersch, Einleit. zu Pind. p. 44. sqq.

[2] Auctt. ap. Boeckh. de Metr. Pind. p. 238. sqq. 276. sqq.

[3] Boeckh. op. cit. p. 207

The above three or five primitive harmonies form the basis of numerous other subordinate varieties, under the titles of Hypophrygian, Hypolydian, Mixolydian, and others similar. This multiplication of styles, involving a proportional mixture or confusion of the antient fundamental forms in which the new varieties originated, is censured by the best native critics as a corruption of the popular taste, concurrent with the general decline in the character of the nation.

One of the few distinctly recorded facts in the history of antient music is, that, at least during this earlier more genial period of the art, the rhythmical numbers of the air were far more essentially dependant on the poetical numbers of the song than in modern times. The accompaniment was considered, as a general rule, altogether subservient to the words, both in its adaptation to the character and genius of the poem, and in the individual adjustment of its numbers to the length or brevity, gravity or vivacity, of the verses and of their syllables and feet.[1] The best or only practical insight, therefore, into the musical element of Greek lyric poetry, is the familiarity which every competent scholar possesses with the fundamental laws of prosody, quantity, and versification.[2] The analysis of these laws belongs to the

[1] Plato de Rep. p. 400.; Aristot. Probl. xix. 9.; Plut. de M. xxxv.; conf. Herm. Doctr. Rei metr. p. 660. sqq. The neglect or reversal of this rule, and the degradation of the words of the song, as in modern operatic music, into vehicles for the display of licentious musical combinations, or of brilliant powers of vocal or instrumental execution, formed one of the corruptions of national taste consequent on the later complications of the theory and practice of music above adverted to.

[2] Beyond these elementary principles the science of Greek metres is itself a mystery, forming, in fact, a chapter of the same general field of investigation as that concerning the more subtle connexion of the musical and poetical arts, and offering the same poverty of tangible results. This

grammar of the language, not to its history, where they can fitly be considered but with reference to the mode of their application by different authors or schools of poetry.

Much of what has here been said of music applies also to the sister art of dancing, on which certain orders of Greek lyric composition seem to have been little less dependant for their full effect than on the musical accompaniment.[1] With the varied movements of the festive dance were more immediately connected, in their origin or their artistic arrangement, those varieties of poetical form which, under the names of Strophe, Antistrophe, and Epode, constitute so prominent a characteristic of the more advanced stages of the lyric art. Several of the more popular styles of poetical composition are also identical, in name and origin, with the dances to which they were chiefly adapted. In Homer, the Threnus, or dirge, and the Pæan are the only two classes of song with which dancing is not combined; and, in the immediately subsequent age, the Pæan no longer forms an exception.[2] In the festive halls of Ithaca, Scheria, and Sparta the bard not only plays, but sings, to the dance of the suitors, of the Phæacian youths, and of the guests of Menelaus. A similar accompaniment enlivens the evolutions of the vine-

sufficiently appears from the wide discrepancies in the respective views of the two distinguished modern grammarians, Hermann (Doctrina Rei metr.) and Boeckh (De Metris Pindari), who have bestowed the greatest amount of labour and ingenuity on the subject. The scholar who correctly appreciates the more recondite excellences of Greek rhythmical science according to the one, must be a stranger to them in the estimation of the other. See Herm. op. cit. Præf. p. xvii.; Boeckh. Expl. Pind. pp. 693—698.; conf. Thiersch. Einleit. zu Pind. p. 66.

[1] Lucian. de Salt.; Athen. Deip. xiv. p. 631. alibi; Boeckh. de Metr. Pind. p. 269. sqq.

[2] Hom. Hymn. Apoll. Pyth. 338. sqq.

dressers on the shield of Achilles, and those of the more accomplished performers in the Cretan dance of Dædalus, in another compartment of the same sculptured series. The word Chorus, signifying in later usage a concert of voices, denoted in earlier times simply a dance, or, even in the stricter usage of primitive art, a place suitable for such exercises.[1] The custom of the dancers joining in the song led to the term being extended to each class of performance. Finally, on the greater distinction of the two arts, and the substitution in the tragic chorus of the processional march and gestures for the ordinary dance, the phrase was appropriated, in a great measure, by the art of music. The more extended application of it maintained its ground, however, during the flourishing age of lyric poetry, in regard to many of the nobler branches of festive solemnity.

Elegiac poetry.

4. It has already been shown, that, while epic composition was indebted for its highest perfection to Æolian genius, the chief seat of its later cultivation and subsequent decline was the neighbouring region of Ionia. That decline, however, it has also been remarked, was but a prelude to a spirited developement of the national talent in a new direction. In the same Ionia the first fruits of this revival were brought to maturity in the elegy and iambic trimeter. These two branches of composition, if they cannot be proved to be next to the hexameter the earliest cultivated, are those at least of which the next most antient remains have been preserved. Each, while

[1] In this sense it is chiefly, perhaps exclusively, used by Homer. Il. xviii. 590., Od. viii. 260., xii. 4. 318. Hence, also, parts, in some instances the whole, of the agora of cities, where dances were performed in primitive times, are said to have been called χορός. Pausan. iii. xi. 7.

conventionally classed as lyric, might, perhaps, with greater propriety be defined as a medium between the lyric and epic; a first step in the transition from the one to the other style of popular art. Of the two, the elegy possesses, upon the whole, the strongest claims to priority, as well on historical grounds, as from its close connexion with the old heroic measure, of which the pentameter may be considered, theoretically at least, but a slight modification, adapting it to more homely and familiar objects.

For the better understanding of the nature of this modification, attention must be recalled to those properties of the hexameter verse formerly[1] pointed out as peculiarly fitting it for epic composition; to the variety and flexibility of its metrical numbers, and the scope which they afforded both to narrative continuity and dramatic mechanism, in the treatment of every kind of subject. These properties were illustrated by the contrast of certain other systems of epic versification, where the text is subdivided into groups of lines, forming, in their successive repetition, distinct metrical stanzas or clauses of the narrative.

Characteristics of the elegiac measure.

This subdivision of the metrical text, and into very minute parts, is the special characteristic of the elegiac, as compared with the purely hexameter, order of versification. The fundamental base or element of the former is not, as in the hexameter, a single line, but a distich or couplet, formed by subjoining to the heroic verse another shorter line consisting of the same dactylic elements, and commonly called the pentameter. The single distich[2] is named,

[1] Vol. II. p. 103.

[2] The employment of the pentameter in its single capacity was never countenanced by classical usage. The few examples which occur belong

technically, an Elegium. The elegy or elegiac poem (Elegia) is but a repetition of the distich in numbers proportioned to the extent of the subject. The obvious effect of this combination of the longer and shorter measures, enhanced by a peculiar abruptness in the central cæsure of the latter, and in its closing foot or "catalexis," is to impart a certain emphatic point to the entire period. This branch of composition, therefore, is essentially epigrammatic or sententious. Its scope and tendency is to express concisely and emphatically, in the case of the single distich, a certain statement or maxim; in that of the prolonged elegy, a series of similar statements or maxims. Each distich forms, it is true, a concise metrical system, capable, like the hexameter verse, of being multiplied into a poem of any length. But the process of repetition is here far from offering the same freedom and facilities for the treatment of a varied and extensive subject. Each pentameter couplet ought, obviously, in the true spirit of the Elegiac Muse, either itself to comprise a distinct clause or period of the sense, or at least to form a subdivision of another more comprehensive clause or head of argument, terminating in a pentameter verse; in other words, every full pause in the sense ought to coincide with a full pause in the measure. Where a continuous head of the subject runs through the close of one distich into the commencement of another, there results a palpable incongruity, which becomes the more glaring when the ensuing pause takes place in the body of the distich, whether at the close of the hexameter or in the middle

either to the lower ages of Greek literature, or are to be considered as mere specimens of poetical caprice. See Bode, Gesch. d. Hellen. Dichtk. vol. II. p. 136. sq.

of either verse. Not only, therefore, is the elegy disqualified by its epigrammatic spirit for continuous narrative, but even in its own proper sphere comparative brevity is essential to the full effect of an elegiac poem. A protracted series of such epigrammatic commentaries, upon any subject, can hardly fail to prove jejune and monotonous. These anomalies, it is true, are all more or less authorised by the practice of the great professional masters of this style, in their natural anxiety to adapt their favourite means to every kind of object. The real impropriety, however, does not the less exist; and, despite the ingenuity with which it may be smoothed over, the discerning critic must, in his own experience, have felt how much superior is the effect of the elegiac measure in the pointed epigram, and other concise and pithy compositions, than in prolonged poetical narratives or moral dissertations.

Origin and early cultivation.

5. In any theory, therefore, as to the origin of this measure, we may safely assume, by reference both to the general law of human invention and to the discriminating taste which marks the developement of art among the Greeks, that the elegiac distich was called into existence by the object to which it was best adapted, that of modifying the old dactylic metre to familiar epigrammatic purposes.

This view is confirmed by the fact that the elegy was the measure solely or chiefly employed, in early times, for sepulchral or dedicatory inscriptions; the kind of epigrammatic composition which would first, or alone, suggest itself as an object of polite culture. The parent term Elegos, whence Elegium and Elegia, denotes accordingly, in its earliest usage, mourning or sorrow; as we learn from the united testimony of

the antient critics[1], confirmed by its own probable etymology.[2] It is accordingly classed by some of the same authorities, though not with strict propriety, as identical with Threnus. The threnus was the dirge, or funeral lament, sung over the corpse, or during the funeral solemnity. The elegy was the more permanent tribute of mournful respect to the memory of the deceased, recording his own virtues with the regrets of his friends, and commonly engraved on his monument. So peculiarly was the elegiac measure, in the subsequent stages of its cultivation, considered as proper to poems of a doleful tendency, that the name Elegy was extended, in vulgar use, even to those of a like character where a different metre was preferred.

To this view, however, it has been objected[3], that the extant elegiac compositions of remote antiquity are for the most part in a style quite opposite to

[1] Didym. ap. Etym. M. v. Ἐλεγεῖα; Procl. Chrestom. p. 379. Gaisf.; Drac. Straton. de Metr. p. 161. sq.; conf. Aristoph. Av. 217.; Eurip. Hel. 186., Iphig. Taur. 146. alibi; alios ap. Frank. Callinus.

[2] For the infinity of speculative, often very fanciful, hypotheses upon this point, see Frank. Callin. p. 42. alibi; Welck. Der Elegos, Kleine Schr. vol. I. p. 63.; Osann, Beyträge zur Gr. Literaturgesch. vol. I p. 11.; Ulrici, Gesch. der Hell. Dichtk. vol. II. p. 101. sq.; Bode, Gesch. der Hell. Dichtk. vol. II. p. 120. sqq. The most reasonable etymology appears to be that which connects the term with ἔλεος or ἄλγος. But even this connexion is obscure and doubtful. All that can safely be assumed is, that the word was originally of mournful import.

[3] Frank. Call. p. 7. sqq., 36. sqq.; conf. Ulrici, loc. sup. cit. The doctrine of these authors, that the first application of the elegy to mournful purposes was not earlier than the time of Mimnermus, a century after Callinus, seems quite inconsistent with their admission, as above quoted, of the originally mournful signification of the term. Equally groundless is the assumption of Frank. (p. 77.), that the phrase Elegos and its derivatives were first invented in the age of Simonides. The former term occurs a full generation earlier, in an epigram of Echembrotus, a poet of the XLVIth Olympiad. Paus. X. vii. 3.

either the funebral or the epigrammatic, being chiefly martial or patriotic appeals, often of considerable length, addressed to the poet's fellow-citizens in times of public emergency. These poems, however, while possibly the oldest ascertained specimens of pentameter style, cannot reasonably be assumed to represent the taste or practice in which that style originated. The distinction between what may formerly have existed, and what has been preserved to posterity, is one of essential importance in questions of this nature. The elegy, in the works of Callinus, Archilochus, and Tyrtæus, its earliest professional votaries, already appears in an advanced state of cultivation, implying a long course of previous practice, and consequent modification of its primitive use. Their compositions stand to its first beginnings in the same relation as the Iliad and Odyssey to the earlier efforts of the Epic Muse. It were as reasonable to argue, from the actual priority of the Iliad, that the first poem in hexameter verse was a finished epopee, as from the existing compositions of Callinus, admitting him to be the most antient author in this style, that the first elegy was a martial or political ode. For the great antiquity of the elegy, however, in its application to what has here been assumed to be its original object, appeal may be made to Archilochus, an author of the same age as Callinus, but of far more varied genius. The remains of the former poet, while exhibiting the measure in its adaptation to every variety of subject, plaintive, martial, and satirical, offer, together with several elegies of a funebral character, a general predominance of those of the epigrammatic order.[1] But, even did the works

[1] Ap. Bergk. Poett. Lyr. Gr. p. 467. sqq.

of these earlier poets furnish no distinct proof of this presumed original destination of the measure, there remains another more competent source of illustration in the sepulchral or votive dedications of the same æra. The existing relics of this class, though scanty in the ratio of their antiquity, yet form a more or less continuous series of evidence that, during this whole early period, from an epoch equal or little inferior to that of the poets above cited, the pentameter was the measure exclusively preferred in monumental inscriptions. The general rule is curiously confirmed by the exceptions, the few dedications where the hexameter verse occurs being confined, solely or chiefly, to such occasions as either possessed or pretended to an antiquity prior to the age at which the elegiac measure is supposed to have come into popular use. Another indirect proof of the essentially epigraphic character of the latter measure is the circumstance, that the only other compositions of a like brief or sententious nature emanating from the same period, the oracular responses, are with equal constancy couched in hexameters. This may be ascribed partly to a religious veneration for primeval custom, partly to the heroic measure being itself, in a poetical point of view, better suited to the dignity or sanctity of such edicts.[1]

[1] Of the thirty or forty dedicatory epitaphs or epigrams given by Pausanias, all are pentameters but three; two of which (I. xxxvii., IX. xi.), as in honour of mythical heroes, are appropriately embodied in the hexameter measure. The only hexameter distich connected with the historical age is that to Miltiades (VI. xix.). Of those in elegiac measure, four or five may belong to this early lyric period (IV. xxii., V. xxiv., IX. xxxviii., X. vii.). To these may be added the inscription of Orrhippus at Megara (Boeckh. Inscr. tom. I. p. 553.; Clint. ad Ol. XV.). The oracles cited by Pausanias, on the other hand, about thirty in number, are all in hexameters, with the exception of one in iambics (IV. ix.). The

Supposed inventors and principal masters.

6. There can be no reasonable doubt that the remote origin of the elegiac distich is lost, like that of the hexameter verse, in the mists of antiquity. When, therefore, we find, according to the prevailing practice of confounding the higher cultivation of an art with its invention, the merit of that invention variously ascribed in the present case to Callinus and Archilochus, the only real question of precedence must relate to the age of these authors, or of others of still greater antiquity, if such can be pointed out, from whom genuine specimens of this style of composition have been transmitted. Both these poets flourished towards the close of the eighth or commencement of the seventh century B. C. They are by consequence so nearly contemporaneous, that the closer examination of their claims to priority, as of no material bearing on the history of elegiac poetry, will be reserved for the chapter on their personal history. The same measure was also cultivated in its primary epigrammatic form by Asius of Samos[1], an epic poet of uncertain age, but possessing claims, perhaps, to equal antiquity with either Callinus or Archilochus. Their younger contemporary, Tyrtæus, was distinguished still more than Callinus for its application

same general rules apply, with rare exception if any, to similar specimens of these various orders of monumental or sacred literature preserved by other compilers.

The inscriptions on the Chest of Cypselus (Paus. v. xviii. sq.) are in hexameter verse; but they are of a properly epic character. It is also probable that the age of this monument may be prior to the familiar use of the elegy. This latter remark applies further to the epigrams cited by Herodotus (v. lix. sq.) in the Ismenian sanctuary, whether genuine or forgeries.

[1] A single epigram of Asius, alluding, it would seem, to Homer's fabulous father, Meles, has been preserved by Athenæus (III. p. 125 D.; conf. Bergk. Poet. Lyr. p. 313.

to martial and political subjects. About the same period, certain of the earlier Greek musicians, Olympus, Clonas, Terpander, Sacadas, and others, are mentioned as authors of elegies; but it seems doubtful whether the term here applies to the pentameter measure, or to the plaintive style of music with which that measure was originally connected.[1]

The next elegiac poet of any celebrity is Mimnermus of Colophon, who flourished about the close of the seventh century B.C. To him belongs the credit of having greatly extended the use of the pentameter measure in the more plaintive style of amatory composition, its adaptation to which constituted, in later times, its chief source of general popularity.[2]

Coeval with Mimnermus was Solon, in whose remains, and those of his contemporary Sages, are the first distinct traces of the gnomic or didactic elegy. This style was extensively cultivated in the latter half of the sixth century B.C. by Phocylides and Theognis. During the same period flourished Xenophanes of Colophon, who seems first to have employed the pentameter measure in prolonged narrative compositions; and Simonides of Ceos, who, above all his predecessors, gave prominence and effect, as a cultivated branch of literature, to the strictly epigrammatic style of elegiac poetry.

[1] Plut. de Mus. III. VIII.; Suid. v. Ὄλυμπος. It appears probable, from these passages and other sources referred to in p. 17. supra, that the term Elegos, in its origin, attached with equal, or perhaps greater, propriety to the melody than to the words of a composition.

[2] Mimnermus was celebrated on this account by Hermesianax ap. Athen. XIII. p. 597. sq. This passage, misinterpreted by later uncritical writers, obtained for the same poet, with those writers, in spite of the notoriously far higher antiquity of Callinus and Archilochus, the credit of first "inventor" of the elegiac measure. Conf. Frank. op. cit. p. 9. sqq.

In the sequel of the Attic period, Antimachus of Colophon, an early contemporary of Plato, distinguished himself in the tender amorous elegy as an imitator or emulator of his fellow-citizen Mimnermus, by whom that style had been first carried to perfection. In the Alexandrian school, as among the Romans, both the joys and the sorrows of love supplied abundant and popular subjects for the elegy. With the poets of the latter nation this measure obtained a peculiar vogue, and was largely employed in compositions of an epic character.

In the musical accompaniment of the pentameter distich, the flute, though not to the exclusion of the lyre, was the instrument preferred, as that which in every age was considered more immediately adapted to mournful composition. Accordingly, Mimnermus, the most popular author in the plaintive style of elegiac poetry, and various other early elegiac poets, are themselves described as skilful flute-players.[1] This preference may perhaps be considered as in part a consequence of the Ionian origin of the elegy, the taste for wind-instruments among the Greeks being confessedly derived from Asia. Among the Lydians of the coast on which the Ionian colonies were established, the flute was extensively used in martial as well as mournful music.[2] Hence, as the earliest regular odes of the elegiac order, those of the Ionian Callinus, are of a martial tendency, the preference of the flute by the Greeks, as the accompaniment of the Elegy, the more naturally suggested itself. How far elegiac poems were at any time regularly set to music, how

[1] Pausan. x. vii. 3.; Echembrot. ap. eund.; Plut. de Mus. III. viii. alibi; Hermesian. ap. Athen. XIII. p. 597. sq.; Suid. v. Τύρταιος; Theogn. (Gaisf.) 532. 1052. alibi.

[2] Herodot. I. xvii.; conf. Athen. XIV. p. 627.

far merely attuned to harmonious chords like the epic recitative, would probably depend much on the nature of their subject. The more it partook of a continuous narrative character, the more appropriate the simpler style of accompaniment; the nearer the approach to the pure lyric, the more artificial would be the style of music preferred. The poems of Mimnermus, where the lyric character predominates more than in those of any previous author, are stated, accordingly, to have been set to music.[1] To the more dignified martial and political addresses of Callinus or Tyrtæus, a graver recitative tone might seem better adapted; while the elegies of Solon, Periander, Xenophanes, and Phocylides, where the gnomic or didactic style predominated, are expressly said not to have been musically arranged.[2]

Iambic poetry.

7. The invention of the Iambus, the rival of the Elegy in antiquity and early popularity, was familiarly ascribed by the ancients, as was that of so many other metrical forms, to Archilochus.[3] In the Margites,

[1] Plut. de Mus. VIII.; Chamæl. ap. Athen. XIV. p. 620.

[2] Athen. XIV. p. 632. In the older vocabulary of the poetical art (Solon, frg. XVI. 2. Gaisf. alibi; conf. Herodot. v. CXIII.), and indeed during every subsequent age of literature (conf. Frank. Callin. p. 77. sqq.), the more familiar title of poems of any length, either in pentameter or hexameter measure, was ἔπη, or "lines;" obviously with reference to that continuity of style which distinguishes each order of composition, in its relative degree, from the more properly melic branches of lyric art. The plural formation τὰ ἐλεγεῖα, denoting, like ἐλεγεία, an elegiac poem, originates in this usage, ἔπη being understood. The term ἔπη was also occasionally applied, on similar grounds, to iambic, trochaic, and other compositions marked by a like continuity of metrical succession (Bekk. Anecd. p. 751.; Dionys. Hal. de Comp. verb. XXVI.). Hence, in later times, the works of Archilochus, Simonides the elder, Tyrtæus, and Phocylides, are said to have been "rhapsodised" occasionally, along with the properly epic poems of Hesiod and Homer. Plat. Ion. p. 530, 531.; Athen. XIV. p. 620.

[3] Plut. de Mus. XXVIII.; Clem. Alex. Stromat. p. 308.; Horat. de Art. Poet. 79.

however, a poem of very early date, and assigned by Aristotle to Homer himself, iambic verses were interspersed with heroic hexameters.[1] It must be presumed, therefore, either that the respectable authors who attribute the invention of the former measure to Archilochus differed from Aristotle as to the genuine antiquity of the Margites, or that the term Invention, as here applied by them, relates merely to the regular poem of continuous trimeters, to which, in popular usage, the phrase Iambic measure was appropriated.

Characteristics of the iambic rhythm.

But the nature and spirit of the Iambus, still more perhaps than of the Elegy, entitle us to look, for its first beginnings at least, to the spontaneous effort of the primitive Muse, rather than to the artifice of a politer age. The component elements of the elegy were contained in the old hexameter. It might very naturally occur, therefore, to an ingenious master of later times to invent a new form to suit a new purpose, by curtailing two syllables of every alternate verse; for such, in fact, is the whole amount of change in the mechanical structure of the measure. The iambus, on the other hand, bears, perhaps above all other metres, in its very essence, the stamp of popular origin. It is, as Aristotle[2] and other antient critics have pointedly remarked, the metre of familiar discourse. Hence, as the same critics observe, the frequency of its spontaneous occurrence in prose compositions, the justice of which remark may be easily verified by the test of experiment. The measure suggested itself instinctively, therefore, to primitive genius, in any attempt to impart to the poetical

[1] Supra, B. II. Ch. XX. § 16.

[2] Rhetor. III. i., Poetic. XXIV.; conf. p. 9. ed. Gräfenh.; Hermogen. de Form. Orat. ed. Laur. p. 263.

treatment of a subject, not so much dignity or solemnity, as emphatic pungency and smartness. This view, together with the remote mythical antiquity of the iambic measure, is supported in the tradition of the Homeric Hymn to Ceres[1] by what is probably the earliest extant vestige of the name, the title of the Eleusinian nymph Iambe, who contributes, by her jibes and drolleries, to dissipate the grief of the goddess for her lost daughter. A popular ceremony of the rites of Ceres, both at Eleusis and elsewhere, were sallies of bantering and raillery, directed by the assembled crowd against each other or the passers by, during the procession.[2] Iambe is the mythical type both of this ceremony and of the mode in which it was performed. A similar custom prevailed in the kindred worship of Bacchus, combined with a still more decided dramatic ingredient, which afterwards ripened, under the auspices of Thespis and Susarion, into the regular Attic tragedy and comedy. So naturally, indeed, in the opinion of the antient critics, did the iambic measure suggest itself as the weapon of satirical attack, that both Horace and Ovid suppose its imputed invention by Archilochus to have been for the special convenience of his biting pasquinades.[3]

Early cultivation.

In its further cultivation, however, the iambus, or rather the iambic trimeter, for in that form alone is its full excellence displayed, not only embraces, like

[1] Verse 195.; conf. Gaisf. Heph. p. 157. sq.; Procl. Chrestom. p. 379. Gaisf.; Welck. Archilochos, Kl. Schr. vol. I. p. 78. The words Iambe, Iambus, are derived apparently from ἰάπτω (ἰάβω, ἰάμβω), to provoke, harass, rail; by the same analogy as λάμβω or λαμβάνω, from λήπτω, λάβω.

[2] Apollodorus, I. v. 3.; conf. Heyn. Obs. ad loc.; Aristoph. Ran. 384. sqq.: Bentl. Opusc. p. 312.

[3] Liebel, fragm. Archil. p. 26.

the elegy, the treatment of every variety of subject, but, as possessing, in a degree little short of the hexameter, the principle of continuity which is wanting in the elegy, is qualified to treat those subjects with similar, if not the same, ease, amplitude, and dignity as the hexameter itself. The essential property of the iambic foot, consisting of one short and one long syllable, so as to commence with the weaker and terminate smartly in the stronger element, may be defined as a union of simplicity and emphasis. These primary elements again, through the ordinary expedients of Greek metrical art, solution, common syllable, and the like, admit, without any actual violation of their own fundamental attributes, the variety of effect derivable from an interspersion of trochaic, dactylic, spondaic, or anapæstic forms. Still, however, the excellence of the measure, even in its complete adaptation to the drama, shines forth less in the flowing discourse or narrative, than in its own original proper class of subjects, lively conversation, pungent satire, or smart repartee. An oration of Æschylus, with all its rhetorical pomp and elevation, falls far short, in true poetical grandeur, of the higher eloquence of the Iliad. The perfection of iambic versification is the text of Aristophanes, where it will ever remain unsurpassed and unrivalled in variety and brilliancy of dramatic effect.

The honour of the first invention, or, in other words, higher cultivation, of the iambic measure, while usually awarded to Archilochus, was disputed in some quarters in favour of the elder Simonides, author of the most antient extant iambic poem of any considerable length. The point is of little importance as affecting either the history of this style

of composition, or the credit of the two poets, both having adapted it to satirical purposes, and having been contemporary with each other. If we except these two authors and Solon, who was partial to the iambic trimeter, the measure seems to have been comparatively little popular during this period, owing, perhaps, to its being less well adapted than other rhythmical forms to the melic or pure lyric order of performance, now so greatly in the ascendant. The iambic compositions of Solon, consisting chiefly of addresses to the Athenian public in vindication of his own political conduct, or reflecting upon that of his fellow-citizens, appear from the extant specimens to have partaken at times much of the character of speeches in the mouth of a hero of Euripides, affording a foretaste, as it were, of the style of the tragic dialogue.

In the arrangement of the iambic trimeter to music, the same general rule seems to have been observed as in the case of the elegy. Where the melic element prevailed, as in the jocund sallies of festive revelry, a properly musical accompaniment might be preferred; where the composition was of a graver character, or more continuous tenor, the simple recitative would suffice. This view seems in some measure confirmed by the statement of Plutarch, that the iambic odes of Archilochus, the standard master of this branch of art, were partly sung, partly recited to the harp, and that their author had himself prescribed rules for the allotment to each of its appropriate style of accompaniment.[1]

Melic orders of lyric composition.

8. The two branches of composition above treated, the elegiac and iambic, while both apparently of

[1] Plutarch. de Mus. XXVIII.; conf. Lucian. de Saltu, XXVII.

Ionian origin, form, as already observed, an intermediate stage between the epic or heroic and the purely lyric style, and might thus be conjointly characterised as the Epico-lyric, in contradistinction to the melic or choral orders of poetry, where a more vital connexion with the sister art of music was maintained. The precocity of Ionian inventive genius is, however, similarly exemplified in these more refined and complicated styles of lyric performance, to which attention will now more immediately be directed. Although the strictly musical element of lyric poetry appears to be chiefly of Æolian origin, a priority in respect to the culture and extension of its literary element is, by a preponderance of antient testimony[1], awarded to the same Ionian Archilochus so distinguished by his services in extending and adorning the elegiac and iambic branches of art. Certain it is, that in the works of this remarkable man a number even of the more delicate varieties of melic rhythm appear in an advanced state of maturity. Among these, the Trochaic, while capable in its lighter combinations of the liveliest musical effect, may, in its more prolonged tetrameter form, be classed along with the elegy and iambic trimeter, as another intermediate stage between the epic and lyric styles. It offers, in fact, a counterpart to the iambic trimeter, as well in the equal division and regular progression of its numbers, and its consequent, though less complete, adaptation to continuous recital, as in the general spirit of its poetical expression. The iambic foot, rising from the short to the long syllable, possesses a vigour and emphasis fa-

[1] See the authorities collected by Liebel, fragm. Archilochi, p. 27. sqq.

vourable to smart invective or keen expostulation; the trochee, subsiding from the long to the short, has a more rapid but comparatively smooth and equable progression, suited rather to persuasive appeal, querulous complaint, or even dignified declamation.[1] Hence its names of Trochæus, the runner, or Choræus, the dancer, from its adaptation to the more airy motions of the dance. The Anapæst, the converse of the dactyl, and another imputed discovery of Archilochus, is an extension of the time and rhythm of the iambus, enhancing the rhetorical power of that measure from emphasis to impetuosity, but forfeiting much of its narrative or conversational spirit. To the same poet were also ascribed the Choriambic and Pæonic, with various more complicated metres arising from the combination of those already described with each other or with the elementary forms in which they originated, and adapted to corresponding varieties of poetical expression.[2]

The term Invention, as applied to the earliest ascertained use of these varied metres, may, in some cases safely be taken in a literal sense. Not only were many of them dependant on a parallel improvement of the art of music, but their arrangement seems to imply a more forward stage of literary culture, and a more copious stock of technical resources than was required for the earlier recitative branches of composition. Still, however, it is not likely that any art, in the ordinary course of things, can have reached at a single step the stage in which lyric rhythm appears in the works of Archilochus. It may

[1] Hermogen. de Form. Orat. II. p. 383. ed. Laurent.

[2] Liebel, op. cit. p. 30. sqq.

reasonably, with all respect for the brilliant genius of that author, be assumed in his case, as in that of Homer and the epopee, that many zealous labourers had preceded him in the same field, but that their productions, whether from their own slender claims to permanent popularity, or from the slowness of the public to appreciate those claims, had not been preserved. There can, indeed, be little doubt that even in the very infancy of society, among all poetically gifted nations, popular songs admitted of a variety of metrical forms suited to their variety of subject; and that in Greece, consequently, even in the days of Homer, there must have existed for the lighter orders of composition livelier systems of versification than the dactylic hexameter, or even the elegy and iambus. The same rule holds good in modern literature. Many of the lyric stanzas which now charm in the page of Dryden or Gray existed in substance, in the popular ballad minstrelsy, long before the more dignified epic measure was improved by Chaucer, or carried to perfection by Milton. In every age, however, the nobler orders of poetry, as more immediately connected with objects of public or national interest, naturally take precedence, in polite cultivation, of those of a lighter more familiar character; and it is the epoch of that cultivation which, in any such case, can alone or chiefly supply tangible material for critical commentary.

Origin of melic poetry. The Nome.

9. It has already been remarked, that, while any technical analysis of the Greek art of music would here be out of place, the elementary history of musical composition must enter to a greater or less degree into the history of Greek lyric poetry, owing to the vital connexion between the two arts, especially

during their earlier stages. All the authentic notices of the origin and early progress of the more refined branches of lyric composition revolve, in fact, around the names and performances of the primitive improvers of the science of music. To the efforts of these personages, consequently, in the joint field of invention, a reasonable share of the present chapter will be allotted. With the notices of their labours will also be combined the few particulars of their personal history which have been recorded. This arrangement will here be preferable, on various accounts, to that of reserving such biographical details for separate treatment; the method which, for equally valid reasons, has been adopted in regard to contemporary authors of the strictly poetical order. Scarcely one of those celebrated patriarchs of the art of music, while all, probably, to a certain extent poets, appears to have possessed claims to higher distinction on the ground of his poetical, apart from his musical, talents.[1] Nor, indeed, is there any one of them of whose personal affairs the extant notices are such as to supply material for a separate memoir.

The views of the leading antient authorities relative to the early progress of the combined arts have been preserved in the Treatise on Music which passes current under the name of Plutarch. This tract is more remarkable for learning than method or precision. The object of its author was less to promulgate any definite system of his own, than to embody an abstract of the doctrines of the older writers on the subject. His authorities, accordingly, while agreeing generally in fundamental matters, are often much at variance

[1] Of Terpander alone have any fragments, amounting to but eight verses, been preserved.

in details; nor has any serious effort been made by the compiler to reconcile their discrepancies. The greater indulgence, therefore, is due to the following attempt, by a collation of his best accredited and most consistent data, to place before the reader, in as distinct a form as the case will admit, the substance of the information which they supply.[1]

The clearest insight into the earlier stages of pure melic art is afforded by the extant notices of that primitive order of poetico-musical performance called Nome. This term, by reference to its etymology, denotes any thing "set apart" or "appropriated." In its application to the arts of music or poetry it admits of a twofold interpretation, as signifying either a poem or ode set to a musical air, or a piece of music arranged to the words of a poetical text.[2] The foundation of Plutarch's treatise is a distinction between the recitative and the lyric element in the works of the old epic poets. Under the head of Lyric he classes the hymn, the threnus or lament, the chorus, the convivial song; illustrating his doctrine by the Hymn of Mars and Venus, and other parallel portions of Homer's poems.[3] Such compositions, he remarks, were not merely chanted or recited, like the ordinary epic narrative, at the free discretion of the poet, but were arranged to a nome or piece of music specially adapted to their respective characters. The existence of some such distinction seems, indeed,

[1] The reader is further referred to the ingenious commentary of Burette, in the 10th vol. of the Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.

[2] In this primitive sense the term seems to be used in the Homeric hymn to Apoll. Del. 20. *νόμοι φόρμιγξ*; conf. Aristoph. Aves, 110., *νόμους ἱερῶν ὕμνων*; Suid. v. *νόμος*; Aristot. Probl. XIX.; Clem. Alex. Str. I. p. 309.

[3] III. sq. ed. Tauchnitz.

inherent in the first principles of art. It can hardly be supposed that the music of the brilliant chorus of Phæacian youths, of the joyous pæan to Apollo Chryseus, or the song of the Muses in Olympus, "responding to each other with their beautiful voices[1]," was but the same comparatively monotonous succession of citharœdic chords used by the epic minstrel in his ordinary narrative.

Aulodic nomes. Olympus.

At a period, however, when the lyre had but four strings, and wind instruments were comparatively little popular in Greece, any such instrumental accompaniment must have been at the best but meagre. These early citharœdic nomes, therefore, are further consistently described as first permanently arranged and reduced to system on the introduction of the seven-stringed lyre by the celebrated master Terpander.[2] Previously, however, to his improvements, a wider compass and nobler character had been imparted to the nomic order of composition, through the medium of the flute or clarionet[3], by the Phrygian musician Olympus. From this composer dates also the extension among the Greeks of a taste for the aulodic branch of music. Wind instruments were obviously better qualified than the primitive lyre, by their greater flexibility, compass, and sonorous power, to give effect to a complicated variety of metrical forms, or to that lively expression of mental emotion which forms a distinguishing characteristic of lyric poetry. Olympus, accordingly, is described as the founder, that is, the first systematic improver, of the musical or "nomic" element of Greek lyric

[1] Od. VIII. 260.; Il. I. 472. 604.

[2] Plut. de Mus. III.; conf. Procl. Chrest. Gaisf. p. 382.

[3] On the Greek wind instruments, see Thiersch, Einleit. zu Pindar, p. 54. sq.

art[1], the more advanced cultivation of which took place in connexion with the heptachord lyre, as the more chaste and purely Hellenic instrument. All authorities seem to agree that aulodic music, although in its ruder rustic form the most antient probably in every country, was first scientifically cultivated (in popular phraseology, invented) in Asia.[2] The mythical contests of Apollo, the god of the lyre, with Marsyas[3] and other patrons of the flute, shadow forth the struggles of the two styles for the ascendant. The lyre represents, among the antients, the more chaste and elegant order of music; the flute, that of a more turbulent and exciting character, expressive equally of morbid melancholy, joyous revelry, or phrensied passion. Hence the former instrument was preferred by Apollo, the patron of all the more noble and refined branches of Hellenic art; the latter by Bacchus and his worshippers, as best adapted to their enthusiastic orgies.[4] Herein, too, lies the historical import of the long rivalry between the festive solemnities of the two gods. Apollo, however, became reconciled to the flute. Alcman and Corinna

[1] Plut. de M. v. VII. XI. XXIX. *ᾧ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς τε καὶ νομικῆς μούσης ἀποδιδόασι.*

[2] Plut. de M. v. VII.; Athen. XIV. p. 624.; Eur. Iph. Aul. 578., Bacch. 127.; Marm. Par. Epoch x.; Suidas, v. *Ὀλυμπος*. The popular citations, however, of Homer, as an authority for this view, are fallacious. Homer represents both Greeks and Asiatics as equally familiar with the lyre and the flute, each on its proper occasion. (Il. III. 54., IX. 188., XIII. 731., X. 13., XVIII. 495.) Wind instruments had this disadvantage, that the poet could not accompany his own compositions. Every "aulodic" minstrel required an assistant. Nanno, accordingly, the mistress of Mimnermus, was his favourite flute-player.

[3] Pausan. II. xxii. 9.; Apollod. I. iv. 2.; conf. Müll. Dor. vol. I. p. 344.; Welck. d. Elegos, p. 64. sq.

[4] Aristot. Polit. VIII. vii.; Pratin. ap. Athen. XIV. 617.; conf. Hom. Il. x. 13., XVIII. 495.; Plato de Legg. p. 700., De Rep. III. p. 398. sqq.; Eurip. Bacch. 127.; Pausan. x. vii. 3

describe him as himself a flute-player.[1] The bond of amity was cemented by the union of the worship and of the favourite instruments of each deity in the Pythian sanctuary.[2]

To return, however, from the history of the instruments to that of the art which they contributed to adorn, Olympus, the earliest accredited author of these refinements of Greek lyric style, must not be confounded with another Olympus, who, as a mythical reflex of the fame acquired by his successor, occupies a place in Greco-Asiatic legend, similar to that of Amphion, Orpheus, or Musæus, in the fabulous records of Greece.[3] The historical reality of the younger Olympus, together with the priority and extent of his influence on Greek musical science, is attested by numerous and competent authors.[4] Concerning his age, the only specific account places him towards the close of the eighth century B.C., contemporary with Midas, king of Phrygia, whose name, like his own and various others celebrated by the Greeks in connexion with that country, denotes both a fabulous hero and a person of real note in national history. The compositions of Olympus are frequently mentioned, by the highest authorities in such matters, as still extant and greatly esteemed in the best ages of Greek art.[5] Among his imputed inventions is the Enharmonic Scale of Intervals, the ac-

[1] Ap. Plut. de M. XIV. [2] Pausan. II. xxii. 9.

[3] He appears accordingly, in these legends, as a contemporary and associate of Marsyas, Silenus, the Idæi Dactyli, and other fabulous worthies of his native district. He is also occasionally quoted, as may be supposed, as the author of various inventions or improvements ascribed in more critical quarters to the real musician of the name. See Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. I. p. 344. sqq.

[4] Ap. Clint. Fast. Hell. loc. cit. [5] Clint. loc. cit.

knowledged foundation of a higher and nobler style of Greek music, chiefly preferred in the accompaniment of hymns to the gods.[1] As there is no authority for Olympus ever having used stringed instruments, this notice supplies an additional evidence that the higher refinements of antient musical art were first developed by Asiatic masters in connexion with the flute, and subsequently adapted to the heptachord lyre by Terpander.[2] The trochaic order of musical rhythm used in the festivals of Cybele, besides several others popular in later times, was also considered as an invention of Olympus.[3] This Phrygian form of trochaic rhythm is understood[4] to be the same as the galliambic, the powerful effect of which may be appreciated from the spirited ode of Catullus[5], commencing

"Super alta vectus Atys celeri rate maria."

Among the more remarkable compositions of Olympus extant in later times were nomes to Apollo, Mars, and Minerva[6], the latter of which is cited by Pindar. One of those to Apollo was called, from its compass and variety of parts, the Polycephalic, or many-headed, Nome.[7] Another of great celebrity was a processional nome of Cybele, hence called the Harmatian Nome[8], of the character of which some notion may be formed from the lament uttered by the Phrygian slave in the Orestes of Euripides.[9] That impetuous outpouring of excited feeling, in broken irregular measure, is described by

[1] Plut. de M. VII. XI. XXIX.; conf. Burette, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. vol. X. p. 279.; Thiersch, Einleit. zu Pind. p. 37. sq.
[2] Appendix A. [3] Plut. de M. XXIX.
[4] Hephæst. p. 67. sq. Gaisf.; conf. Herm. Doctr. R. Metr. p. 504. sqq.
[5] Carm. LXIII. [6] Plut. XXIX. XXXIII [7] Plut. de Mus. VII.
[8] Plut. de M. VII.; conf. Etym. Mag. v. Ἁρμάτειον. [9] 1380. sqq.

the complainer himself as the "Harmatian Song."[1] Aristophanes[2] also alludes to aulodic nomes of Olympus, of a similarly mournful nature, as popular at Athens. All authorities bear testimony to the excellence of his compositions, as combining, with passionate fervour, great purity and simplicity of character.[3]

The above notices seem to refer almost exclusively to the musical element of the nomes of Olympus; nor is there any distinct trace of a poetical text having passed current at any period under his name. The ambiguity, however, incident in all languages to the technical phraseology of the two branches of art, and especially among the Greeks, owing to the peculiar closeness of the connexion between the two in the practice of that nation, renders it often difficult or impossible to distinguish whether in such notices allusion be made to poetical or purely musical composition. The term Nome appears, indeed, at all periods to have borne a more immediate reference to the music or air, than the poetry or words, of a song. In later times, it came to be restricted, in a proper sense, to a certain graver more dignified order of musical composition, both vocal and instrumental, performed in honour chiefly of the greater gods, and on high and solemn occasions.[4]

The only two musicians specially described as disciples of Olympus are Hierax of Argos[5], and Crates,

[1] Plutarch mentions also the adaptation of this nome to martial compositions; and cites an example of the powerful effect of its performance in rousing the military ardour of Alexander. De Alex. M. Fort. orat. II. p. 335.

[2] Equit. 9.

[3] See especially Plato, Sympos. p. 215.; Aristot. Polit. VIII. v.; conf. Clint. F. H. p. 344. sq.

[4] Müller, Dor. I. 349.: conf. Boeckh. de Metr. Pind. p. 182. sq.

[5] Plut. de M. XXVI.; conf. Jul. Poll. IV. X. 79.

of uncertain birthplace. To Crates some ascribed the celebrated Polycephalic Nome usually attributed to his master.[1]

Citharœdic nomes. Terpander.

10. Nearly coeval with Olympus was Terpander, by whom were extended to the citharœdic branch of lyric composition the same services for which the aulodic branch was indebted to Olympus. This celebrated musician was a native of Lesbos, then the most distinguished seat of the Æolo-Asiatic colonies. In his person, therefore, Æolian genius asserts the same priority and the same preeminence in the art of music which the Iliad and Odyssey had secured for it in that of poetry. The chief seat, however, of his professional activity was Lacedæmon, the centre of Dorian power and Dorian national feeling. His high reputation is figured in the tradition[2] of his descent from Homer according to some accounts, from Hesiod according to others. In the same fable he inherits the lyre of Orpheus, borne on the waves from the shores of Æolian Greece to those of Æolian Asia, where it was discovered and preserved by fishermen for his use. Other organs of the popular tradition make him a contemporary of Lycurgus; on the principle common with classical antiquaries, of connecting the origin of all the chief institutions of Sparta, among which was the musical system established by Terpander, with the name of her great lawgiver. More distinct and satisfactory is the notice of Hellanicus, who makes Terpander the first victor in the great musical festival of the Carnea, instituted, under his own direction, in the year 676 B.C.[3] He may thus be

[1] Plut. de M. VII.

[2] Suid. v. Τέρπ.

[3] Hellanicus et Sosibius ap. Athen. XIV. p. 635.; conf. Plut. de Mus. IX.; Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. I. pp. 187. 201. The notice of the Parian Chronicle, which brings down the first promulgation of Terpander's

considered as a generation younger than Olympus, and nearly coeval with Archilochus. Sparta was, at this early period, the state in which musical art was cultivated with the greatest zeal. Her citizens were in the habit of engaging the services of the ablest professors from every part of Hellas. Here, accordingly, the leading improvements of Terpander were matured and promulgated.

Terpander's connexion with Lacedæmon is said to have originated in an invitation by the Spartan rulers to visit their city during a period of intestine discord. This step was taken by them in obedience to an injunction of the Delphic priestess, by whom the Lesbian musician had been pointed out as the destined means of reconciling the hostile factions. Such is said to have been the effect of his music on those reputed men of iron, that the contending parties, dissolved in tears, embraced each other, and buried all previous differences in oblivion.[1] Fixing his abode in the city, he fulfilled, during the remainder of his life, the functions of state poet and musician, amid

new system of music at Sparta as late as 644 B C., is strangely at variance with the account of his triumph in the Spartan Carnea in the first year of their institution, thirty years before. It is certainly far more probable that the introduction of his improvements should have been, if not anterior, simultaneous at least with the institution, under his own auspices, of the national festival where they were publicly sanctioned and reduced to practice. See Appendix B. Nor is there the least notice of any fundamental change in the Spartan system of music after the institution of the Carnea. The date of the chronicle is also, it need hardly be added, repugnant to the received tradition, which describes the revolution effected by Terpander in the musical art and taste of Lacedæmon as simultaneous with his first settlement in the country, not as a work of his old age, after more than thirty years' service as state musician.

[1] Stesich. ap. Philodam. de Mus. Voll. Hercul. I. p. 81. 91. sq.; Sappho, frg. LII. Gaisf., LXIX. Neue; Aristot. ap. Eustath. ad Il. IX. 129.; Diod. Sicul. ap. Tzetz. Chil. I. 16.; Plut. de Mus. XLII.; Gaisf. Parœm. Gr. p. 74. 341.; Apostol. v. μετὰ Λέσβιον ᾠδόν.

universal admiration and esteem. After his death his memory was revered, and his compositions esteemed as models to all succeeding professors of citharœdic art. His system continued to flourish chiefly under Lesbian masters, both at Lacedæmon and elsewhere, up to the time of his countryman Phrynis[1], whose innovations, about the period of the Persian war, were considered as corruptions of the "genuine Hellenic music."[2] Terpander, besides his victory in the Carnea, conquered four times in the Pythian festival[3], at that time apparently the only one of the great Panhellenic solemnities of which competitions in lyric poetry formed a part.

Great as was Terpander's fame as an original genius, his merits would yet appear, from the more authentic notices, to have consisted less in actual discovery, than in the adaptation to Greek tastes and habits of refinements of art already familiar to the cultivated nations of Asia. The most celebrated novelty for which he obtained credit was the invention of the seven-stringed lyre[4], by the addition of three chords to the old tetrachord instrument. This, however, cannot be considered, nor has it been so understood by the more critical even of his own countrymen, as indicating the first actual construction of a stringed instrument with the compass of an octave. There can be no doubt that the more civilised nations of Asia possessed, before his time, instruments of equal or greater compass; and Terpander is stated, on no less authority than that of Pindar, to have founded

[1] Plut. de Mus. VI.

[2] Aristoph. Nub. 971.; Procl. Chrestom. p. 382. Gaisf.; Suid. et Hesych. v. Λέσβιος φιλός.

[3] Plut. de Mus. IV.

[4] Fragm. Terpand. I. ap. Schneidewin, Del. Poes. Gr. p. 237.; Plut. de Mus. XXX.

his improvements of the Greek cithara on a Lydian instrument of two octaves, called magadis, which, under the Greek name of pectis or barbiton, he had also the merit of first introducing into Europe.[1]

Terpander is also the accredited "inventor" of the art of writing music[2]; and there can be little doubt of his having possessed a system of notation forming the basis of that still in use. Here again, however, his services are probably to be understood rather in the way of adaptation to native Greek practice than of original discovery. It is difficult to believe that Olympus could not only have carried his branch of art to so high a degree of excellence, but have succeeded in transmitting his many elaborate compositions to posterity, without the aid of some such expedient.

Consistently with his preference of the lyre as the favourite instrument of the old Heroic Muse, Terpander, even in its adaptation to melic poetry, showed a partiality for the antient rhythmical forms. His nomes were chiefly in hexameter verse, and the words of many of them are described, not as his own composition, but portions of the Homeric poems arranged by him to a lyric accompaniment. He was, however, also the author of original poems, though apparently few in number, and with a preference here also for the hexameter or other cognate[3] metres. Of these

[1] Boeckh. de Metr. Pind. p. 261.; Frag. Pind. 9.; Athen. XIV. p. 635.; Plutarch (De M. XVIII.) also describes him, while adding compass to his native lyre, as reducing or curtailing the superabundant strings (περιεῖλε τὴν πολυχορδίαν) of the Asiatic instruments; for of these instruments, obviously, the notice must be understood.

[2] Plut. de M. III.; Clem. Alex. Str. I. p. 308.; Boeckh. de M. Pind. p. 245.

[3] Ap. Plutarch. de Mus. III., who also (IV.) ascribes to him citharœdic Procœmia in epic measure, probably hymns to Apollo, similar to the

poems several fragments still remain. One is a portion of a hymn or nome to Jupiter, in spondaic measure[1], and marked by both grandeur of conception and harmony of numbers. Of the four pure hexameters which have been preserved, two[2], recording, in somewhat boastful terms, his substitution of the seven-stringed for the four-stringed lyre, are a less favourable sample of his style. Far superior are two others[3], imitated by Pindar, in honour of the combined musical and military genius of Sparta. Pindar's assignment to Terpander of the "invention" of the Scolion, or Greek convivial Catch[4], can hardly be understood as referring to any thing more than improvements in the style or musical accompaniment of that entertainment.

Other early poet-musicians. Thaletas.

11. The next in celebrity among these early improvers of Greek melic art is Thaletas, a native of Gortys in Crete[5], and attracted, like Terpander, to Sparta, as the central seat of musical culture. Like Terpander, also, he possesses claims to mythical antiquity, but his probable epoch may be placed about a generation subsequent to the Lesbian musician. His chief merit consisted in his application of Terpander's system to the martial and orchestic branches of Spartan state ceremonial, as founder, in the year 665 B.C., of the second of the two great Lacedæmonian musical festivals, that of the Gymnopædia[6];

Delian Hymn in the Homeric collection. See supra, Ch. xx. § 3. The second fragment in Schneidewin's collection seems to have belonged to one of these compositions. Conf. Procl. Chrest. Gaisf. p. 382.

[1] Frg. iv. ap. Schneidewin, Delect. Poes. Gr.

[2] Frg. i. [3] Frg. iii.; conf. Plut. Lycurg. xxi.

[4] Plut. de M. xxviii. [5] Polymnest. ap. Pausan. i. xiv. 3.

[6] Plut. de M. ix. x. He must not be confounded with another earlier, perhaps mythical, Thales or Thaletas, who acts as coadjutor of Lycurgus

Terpander being still more renowned as the author of the first, or Carnea. Of the younger solemnity the war-dance formed the leading feature, and it was distinguished generally by its athletic character from the graver more dignified Carnea.[1] The pyrrhic, and other dances chiefly preferred in the Gymnopædia, were held, like the author of the ceremony, to be of Cretan origin.

The personal history of Thaletas is, in its details, little more than a counterpart of that of Terpander, and may accordingly be considered as somewhat apocryphal. By the power of his music he allayed a pestilence which ravaged the city, and by his soothing influence repressed the factious spirit of the inhabitants, and moulded their wills to the wise purposes of their rulers.[2] His musical compositions are described as chiefly pæans or hyporchems[3], both of which were connected with the rites of Apollo and with the popular exercise of the dance, and were nearly akin to each other. The poetical works ascribed to him were, accordingly, in pæonic measure, and in honour of Apollo; but no remains of them have been preserved. The originality of his productions was questioned by antient critics, some of whom stigmatised him as a plagiarist of Archilochus, others of Olympus. From the latter he is also said to have borrowed the mea-

in his legislative labours. (Plut. in Lycurg. IV., Clinton, F. H. vol. I. pp. 159. 191. 201.) It is, however, not easy to understand how Clinton, in the face of the authorities which he himself quotes, should have placed the genuine Thaletas, author of the second musical "Catastasis" of the Spartans, earlier than Terpander, the author of the first. See Appendix B.

[1] Plut. de M. IX.; Athen. XV. p. 678.; Schol. Pind. Pyth. II. 127.

[2] Pind. ap. Philod. de Mus. Voll. Hercul. I. pp. 81. 91.; Pausan. I. XIV. 3.; Plut. de M. XLII.; conf. Müller, Dor. vol. II. p. 17.

[3] Plut. de M. IX.; Schol. Pind. Pyth. II. 127.; Ephor. ap. Strab. X. p. 480.

sure called, probably from his own partiality for it, the Cretic.[1]

Clonas. Nearly contemporary with Thaletas was Clonas[2], another aulodic musician and poet of elegies and epic hymns, whom the Thebans of Bœotia and the Tegeans of Arcadia each claimed as their citizen. He shares with several other primitive artists the credit of having composed the celebrated trimelic or tripartite nome, so called from consisting of three parts or strophes, each in one of the three chief musical modes or styles, Dorian, Phrygian, and Lydian.

In the arrangement of the Gymnopædia, the name of Thaletas is associated[3] by classical authorities with those of four other poet-musicians, Xenodamus of Cythere, Xenocritus of Locris, Polymnestus of Colophon, and Sacadas of Argos, all, like Thaletas himself, distinguished as performers on the flute or clarionet, the instruments preferred in the Gymnopædia. It is certain, however, that several of these artists belong to a much later epoch than Thaletas. The notice, therefore, of their joint services, in regard to the Gymnopædia, must be understood to imply, not a simultaneous exercise of their talents, but their successive modifications or improvements of the solemnity, resulting in the form which it afterwards presented during the flourishing æra of the Spartan republic.

Xenodamus. Xenodamus of Cythere, the first on the list, is otherwise little known to fame. A hyporchem, however, or gymnastic dance, ascribed to him, was extant in later times. Polymnestus[4], son of Meles of Colophon, was a contemporary, probably a disciple

Polymnestus.

[1] Plut. de M. x.
[2] Plut. de M. iii. v. viii.
[3] Plut. de M. ix.
[4] Plut. de M. iii. iv. v. ix.

of Thaletas. He was employed by the Spartans to compose an ode or elegy in honour of that musician[1], and was similarly celebrated, in his turn, by Alcman and Pindar.[2] He may, by reference to the above data, be placed in the latter part of the seventh century B.C.[3] His compositions are described as belonging chiefly to the class of nomes called Orthian, literally steep or straight, indicating the sustained elevation of their pitch.[4] Several of his nomes bore in later times the distinctive title of Polymnestian. He was also considered the originator of various more or less important refinements of musical art.[5]

Xenocritus of Locris[6] towards the close of the seventh century B.C., and Sacadas of Argos in the early part of the sixth, attained a certain distinction, both as poets and musicians, in a peculiar style of epico-lyric composition, apparently of Locrian origin, and which was carried to high perfection, about or shortly after the time of Sacadas, by Stesichorus of Himera. Hence, such notices as may be due to their character as poets will be more opportunely introduced in connexion with the history of that more celebrated author.[7] They will here be considered but in their capacity of musicians. Xenocritus, a native of the Italian or Epizephyrian Locris, said to have been blind from his infancy, was celebrated for his pæans, and as originator of a Locrian school of music, distinguished for its elegance, but censured

Xenocritus.

[1] Paus. I. xiv. 3. [2] Plut. de M. v.

[3] Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. I. p. 191.

[4] Plut. de M. IX. The pathetic power of the orthian nome is evinced by its having been sung by Arion, as his own death dirge, before his plunge into the sea. Herodot. I. xxiii.; conf. Suid. v. ὀρθιος νόμος.

[5] Plut. de Mus. XXIX. [6] Plut. de Mus. X. [7] Infra, Ch. iv.

Sacadas.

also for meretricious levity of style.[1] Sacadas was victor, in the competition of flute-players in the Pythian games, on the first (586 B.C.) and two subsequent occasions after the performance on that instrument had been introduced as a regular part of the solemnity.[2] He also competes with Clonas for the honour of producing the celebrated trimelic nome.[3] The elegiac is described as his favourite style of composition. A monument at Argos, and statues at Olympia and Helicon, with an ode by Pindar in his honour[4], bore testimony to the esteem in which he was held.

Spartan influence on Greek lyric art.

12. From the foregoing historical details, it appears that Sparta took a decided lead among the states of Greece, during this early period, in the cultivation of lyric poetry. Her influence, however, was exercised, not through the agency of her own citizens, but of foreigners invited and entertained at public expense. Herein may appear to lie a twofold anomaly: first, that a people proverbially indifferent to the value of other kindred arts should have been so feelingly alive to that of music; secondly, that, where so great a passion prevailed for so attractive a pursuit, talent for its exercise should have been wanting. The anomaly, however, finds a satisfactory explanation in the genius of the Lacedæmonian institutions, which exercised not merely an influence, as in other states, but a despotic tyranny over both the intellectual pursuits and social habits of the citizens. Although the Dorians may, upon the whole, have

[1] Aristot. ap. Heraclid. frg. xxx. ed. Schneidew.; Callim. ap. Schol. Pind. Ol. xi. 17.; Athen. xiv. p. 639., xv. p. 697.; conf. p. 625.

[2] Pausan. ii. xxii. 9.; conf. Plut. de M. viii.

[3] Plut. loc. cit.

[4] Pausan. loc. cit.; conf. ix. xxx. 2., vi. xiv. 4.; Plut. loc. cit.

been less gifted by nature, in regard to the imaginative faculties, than some other tribes of their fellow Hellenes, they were not certainly deficient in that innate sense of beauty and harmony common to the whole Hellenic race. The example of Corinth and of various other states sufficiently proves that, where no special causes interfered, the Dorians wanted neither the faculty nor the inclination to excel in every department of elegant science. Wherever, therefore, in any case, the spirit of the Spartan legislation permitted or enjoined a participation in those pursuits which, as a general rule, it was bent on repressing, there would be no want of disposition to profit by the indulgence.

The vital principle of the Lacedæmonian constitution was harmony, a complete unity of interest and feeling among the members of the privileged class; an absorption, in fact, to this extent of the individual in the mass. According to a no less fundamental doctrine of Greek political ethics, one of the most efficient modes of promoting this object was a national system of music. The connexion between music and political government, among the Spartans, is strikingly exemplified by the legends above narrated of the popular seditions suppressed by Terpander and Thaletas through the mere charm of their musical performances. In a military point of view, the value of this art was equally recognised by the Lacedæmonian legislators, as will be no less strikingly illustrated in the sequel, in treating of the history of Tyrtæus. Music formed an important element of their military economy, both in the city and camp as an incitement to valour and patriotism, and on the battle field as an aid to martial discipline.

Its advantage in this latter respect, so highly appreciated in modern warfare, seems, in fact, to have been fully recognised in Sparta alone among the Greek states. She was the only member of the confederacy, of whose armies the field movements were habitually and systematically regulated by musical performance.[1] The connexion between music and dancing, the latter of which arts constituted an essential branch of Spartan military education, still further tended to secure and extend the influence of the former. Nor was music less highly appreciated in a convivial point of view.[2] In the syssitia, or public banquets, popular songs, celebrating the glory of the nation and its heroes, proved an effectual means of riveting the bonds of social unity, and inspiring fresh vigour for the daily routine of political or martial duty. To the prevalence of this custom may possibly be attributed the pains which Terpander, the state musician, is said to have bestowed on the important branch of convivial composition called Scolion, the invention of which, or, in other words, its improvement or more artistic regulation, forms one of his claims to celebrity. To all this may be added, that Apollo, the patron deity of the Dorian race, and especially of the Spartan republic, was, by preeminence, the god of music and song. Hence the earliest local solemnities of which lyric performances constituted a prominent feature are the Carnean games of Sparta, in honour of this god, in which Terpander was the first victor.

It is, however, remarkable, that, with all this susceptibility of the power and charm of music and

[1] Thucyd. v. lxx.; Lucian. de Salt. x.; Plut. de M. xxvi., Vit. Lycurg. xxii.; Polyb. iv. 20.; Athen. xiv. p. 627.

[2] Plut. Lyc. xxi.; Athen. xiv p. 630.

poetry, and this high sense of the more solid advantages derived from an encouragement of the combined arts, the Spartans themselves do not seem to have been at all distinguished either as poets or musicians. This apparent inconsistency may be owing partly to an actual want of original genius in the race for an art the creations of which, as emanating from the genius of others, they were abundantly qualified to appreciate. Another cause of the anomaly may perhaps be found in the circumstance, that, popular as these more ideal pursuits may have been in Sparta, their professional exercise by Spartan citizens, to the extent necessary to form finished masters, or to the neglect of other more strictly martial and athletic accomplishments, was probably, if allowed at all, neither encouraged nor approved of. The history of human society, in every age, furnishes similar instances of sciences highly prized in themselves, while their professors were lightly esteemed. As, however, what might be deemed effeminate or degrading in a Spartiote reflected no such discredit on a Lesbian or Athenian, the magistrates were at all times forward to invite the most esteemed foreign professors to their city, and to secure their services by handsome treatment and honourable distinctions. It is to this peculiarity that Aristotle[1] alludes, in describing the Lacedæmonians as good critics but bad artists. Hence, during this early period, Sparta, while herself producing no single poet or musician of any real eminence among her own sons[2], was the central seat

[1] Polit. VIII. iv. p. 263. Tauchn.; conf. Athen. XIV. p. 628.

[2] Xenodamus, one of the establishers or improvers of the Gymnopædia, was a native of Cythera, and in so far a Lacedæmonian, though not probably enjoying the full privileges of a citizen. His name, however,

of musical culture, and of a school of art which gave laws to the rest of Greece. All the more illustrious professors who flourished during the ascendancy of this school, Terpander, Thaletas, Tyrtæus, Polymnestus, Alcman, Sacadas, were either settled in Sparta, or employed by the Spartan government. The exception of Archilochus, to whom, on special grounds, the same privilege was denied, tends but to confirm the rule.

Sparto-Dorian school.

13. It may seem strange that the Spartan school, amid the varieties of genius to which it owed its cultivation, and of which the enthusiastic and voluptuous Æolian, as represented by Terpander, is the most conspicuous, should yet have acquired that gravity and severity of character for which it was celebrated. It might, perhaps, be said in explanation, that an essential condition of the popularity of any foreign artist would be an adaptation of his style to the taste of his employers; and that an Æolian or Ionian master composing for a Dorian audience would be expected to divest himself of his native method, and conform to that of his patrons. Original genius, however, does not easily submit to any such accommodation to circumstances. It is more probable that, in the time of Terpander, no such separation of tastes or styles had yet taken place, in regard at least to the higher public or sacred departments of musical perform-

although the most prominent in the annals of native art, cannot rank in celebrity within many degrees of those of the distinguished foreign masters above noticed. Other Spartan musicians, of whom incidental mention occurs, are Gitiades, Spendon, Dionysodotus. The first of these, architect of the Brazen House of Minerva, is said to have composed a hymn to that goddess. (Paus. III. xvii. 3.) Dionysodotus was author of pæans performed in the Gymnopædia. (Athen. xv. p. 678.) Conf. Plut. in Lycurg. XXVIII.

ance, which afterwards bore the name of Dorian.[1] The character of this graver order of composition was probably the same, or similar, at this early period, in every state; and the art of any truly great Æolian or Ionian master, as applied to sacred or solemn objects, would be as congenial to Dorian taste as the art of a native Dorian. When, therefore, we find Terpander described as establishing a Spartan system of music, the notice is not to be understood as if, on his settlement in Lacedæmon, he had discarded his previous Æolian practice, and tasked his genius to produce a new style more suitable to the taste of his new audience; but simply that the superiority of his system to that previously in vogue among the Spartans obtained for it a preference, and for himself the honour of future director of their musical solemnities. The question with them was, not whether his style was Æolian or Dorian, but whether it was more excellent than their own. This view is, indeed, born out by the tradition concerning the powerful effect of his music on their sympathies on his very first performance.[2]

The Spartan school, therefore, represents but the graver more dignified order of national music, of which congenial features in the Laconian character

[1] The deference to Dorian practice seems, however, in later times, to have been far more broadly exemplified in regard to the dialect than to the rhythm or music, both in the choric element of the Attic drama and in other styles of lyric composition. Pindar admits no exclusive preference of Dorian rhythm even in his loftier range of subjects. (Boeckh. de Metr. Pind. p. 276. sq.) The dialect of the dithyrambic odes was the Doric, at least down to the age of Aristotle; yet that critic himself remarks that the dithyrambic metres were altogether incompatible with a Dorian musical accompaniment. Polit. VIII. vii.; conf. Probl. XIX. XV.

[2] See Appendix C.

had rendered Sparta the principal seat. The same influences extended in a greater or less degree to other Dorian states; and the more solemn and sacred style, as authorised not only in the Carnean, but the Olympian, Pythian, and other Panhellenic festivals, acquired the familiar title of Dorian. To this ascendancy of Dorian taste and practice is to be further attributed the subsequent general preference of the Doric dialect in the higher branches of lyric poetry, as exemplified in the odes of Pindar and other contemporary poets, and in the lyric element of the Attic drama. The lighter styles of composition, on the other hand, as more successfully cultivated among the native Æolians and Ionians, acquired from those tribes their own distinctive titles, in contradistinction to the more severe genius of the Sparto-Dorian Muse.

But amid all the ascetic gravity of their character and institutions, it is certain that the Lacedæmonians were far from repudiating a style of lyric performance of a lighter and livelier nature than that appointed for more solemn and serious public festivals; a style even of a licentious tendency. This seems to be evinced by the extant remains of Alcman, their most popular national poet, many of whose odes would not be unworthy of a place in the collections of Sappho or Anacreon. The adaptation of such words to the graver Dorian music would have been an anomaly too repugnant to every law of propriety to have been sanctioned by any Hellenic school of art; they must, therefore, be understood to have been furnished with a corresponding style of melody. It may hence be presumed that, besides the improvement of the Dorian music properly so called, Sparta

was indebted to her Terpanders and Polymnesti for the introduction of the more sprightly and jocund Æolian or Ionian styles, either as they prevailed in the native countries of those musicians, or as modified by themselves to suit the taste of their new patrons. The prevalence, accordingly, of Æolism in the dialect and metres of "the Laconian poet" Alcman is pointedly noticed by antient critics.

Strophic and choral styles of lyric poetry.

14. In reverting from the music to the literature of Greek lyric composition, attention must again be directed to the inventions or improvements for which Archilochus enjoys credit, in the more essentially melic, as well as elegiac and iambic, orders of Greek metre. That this poet was a great inventive genius is vouched for, as well by the testimony of antiquity, as by the variety of forms which Greek poetical rhythm suddenly, as it were, assumes in his extant productions.[1] The precise extent to which, in each individual case, he may be entitled to the honour of priority is difficult to determine, owing to the obscurity which involves the previous stages of lyric art. The credit will at least remain to him of having, in regard to a majority of those forms, produced the first specimens considered worthy of being preserved and cherished as standard models by the latest posterity. In addition, however, to the simpler styles of melic rhythm, his fragments offer the first traces of the next remarkable step in the progress of lyric art, the developement of the choral or strophic order of poetry. For the better elucidation of the early history of this important branch of composition, a concise notice will be required of its chief component parts

[1] Conf. Plut. de Mus. xxviii.

or elements.[1] These are, a Verse, a System, and a Strophe.

Metrical definitions.

A Verse may be defined a continuous series of metrical numbers, forming a complete harmonious clause, of such length as may be conveniently recited in a single respiration.

A System is a similar clause or section of the text of a metrical composition, the numbers of which section, while succeeding each other in like continuous order[2], are too extensive to admit of their being comprised in a single verse.

A Strophe is a similar section of a metrical text, the numbers of which may either proceed in the same uninterrupted order of continuity, or may comprise distinct verses or systems of verses.

Where no two strophes of the same ode correspond in form to each other, or where an ode consists of but one form of strophe successively repeated, the poem is called Monostrophic. Where the same strophe is repeated alternately with another different form of strophe, the ode is called Antistrophic; every alternate corresponding strophe being entitled the antistrophe of its predecessor.

By reference to these definitions, a system successively repeated in a lyric composition forms a strophe. A strophe, however, not only does not necessarily form a system; but may itself comprise several systems, alone, or in connexion with other unconnected verses; or it may consist altogether of such verses.

An Epode is a shorter combination of numbers

[1] Conf. Herm. Elem. Doctr. metr. p. 666. sqq.

[2] Namely, without the intervention of any of those accidents (hiatus, common syllable, and others) which in Greek prosody form an impediment to metrical continuity. Herm. op. cit. p. 25.

subjoined to a longer one. In the more elementary stage of art, the term was applied to the combination of a single short verse or "catalexis" with one or more longer verses, so as to round them off into a concise system or strophe. In the more advanced stages of strophic composition it denoted any concise series of verses, or short strophe, appended to one or more strophes of greater compass, to enhance the choric effect of their periodical recurrence.

Strophe. The origin of the Strophe is probably coeval with that of lyric song. Such stanzas, or subdivisions of a continuous poetical text, are in every country a common or even universal characteristic of the popular ballad, and other ruder productions of the infant Muse. The Greek critics seem themselves to have been of this opinion, since, by a rare exception to their general rule, the "invention" of the strophe seems nowhere to have been attributed by them to any definite era or author. The invariable connexion between music and poetry, in every primitive state of society, also implies the existence of the strophe; a similar subdivision of the musical measure into staves or stanzas being indispensable to the livelier class of tune or melody; and the words could hardly fail to be regulated by the music.

The first and simplest form of strophe which, by reference to the foregoing definition of the term, the Greek or indeed any other language can present, is exemplified in the elegiac distich, where a short verse is subjoined to a long one. Similar are those elementary combinations already noticed called Epodes, of frequent occurrence with Archilochus, and of which he was the reputed inventor. They usually consist of two lines of mixed dactylic and iambic measure, the

second of which stands to the first much in the same relation as the pentameter to the hexameter in the elegiac couplet. An extension of this more elementary form, also first exemplified in the works of Archilochus, is the subjoining of a single catalectic iambic verse to two acatalectic verses of the same measure[1]: —

αἶνός τις ἀνθρώπων ὅδε,
ὡς ἆρ' ἀλώπηξ κἀετὸς,
ξυνωνίην ἔθεντο.

These shorter combinations of verses are, however, rarely, if ever, comprehended under the general term Strophe, but are familiarly known, as already remarked, by their proper title of Epode.

Strophic odes, in the more restricted sense, may be classed under two heads, Melic and Choric. The former head comprises such compositions as were sung or recited, with or without instrumental accompaniment, by a single voice, or a chorus of limited number, for the most part it would appear on private convivial occasions. The choric odes were performed

[1] The verses called Asynartete (or disjointed), another imputed invention of Archilochus, and to the use of which he was partial, also belong properly to this elementary class of epodes. They are deficient in the metrical continuity essential to a single verse, comprising in reality two, a shorter subjoined to a longer one, as in the simplest form of the epode. The only difference consists in the customary mode of writing them. When, therefore, as occasionally happens, another shorter verse is subjoined to the so-called Asynartete, the result is a strophe or epode of three lines. Ex. gr.

οὐκέθ' ὁμῶς θάλλεις ἁπαλὸν χρόα,
κάρφεται γὰρ ἤδη·
ὄγμος κακοῦ δὲ γήραος καθαιρεῖ.

Archil. ap. Bergk. Poett. lyrr. p. 487. frg. 91.; conf. 104.

in the public solemnities, in conjunction with the dance or processional rites.

Melic Strophe.

The distinctive properties of the Melic Strophe are comparative brevity and precision.[1] The number of verses in each rarely, in the more classical odes of the kind, exceeds four, usually marked by a certain similarity of rhythmical character. As a general rule, the continuity of numbers is not extended beyond the limits of each verse. The last verse frequently assumes the form of an epode or catalexis to the remainder, imparting to the whole an elegant roundness and compactness of numbers. The poems of this class are invariably monostrophic, consisting, that is, of but a single form of strophe repeated throughout, from the commencement to the conclusion. This style of composition, if not of Æolian origin, appears in its greatest perfection in the works of Æolian poets. The oldest and most excellent specimens which have been preserved are the Sapphic and Alcaïc odes, so called from the preference[2] given to the rhythmical forms in which they are composed, by the two distinguished chiefs of the Lesbian school, Sappho and Alcæus.

Choric Strophe, Antistrophe, Epode.

15. The properties of the Choric strophe may be defined as in a great measure the opposite of those by which the Melic strophe has just been characterised. The former requires or admits a greater number of verses, with a proportionally greater complexity and compass of rhythmical forms. The continuity of numbers is also, as a general rule,

[1] Dion. Hal. de Comp. Verb. XIX.; Herm. Doctr. Rei metr. p. 674.

[2] This remark applies to other similar phrases, Alcmanic, Stesichorean, Pindaric, &c., which, as a general rule, refer to the favourite rather than to the first use of those various forms by the authors whose names they bear. Conf. Theon. ap. Welck. Alkäos; Klein. Schr. vol. I. p. 137.

prolonged beyond the close of each line, sometimes through the whole strophe. At other times, this continuity is limited to separate groups of verses, forming, in each strophe, subordinate rhythmical masses or systems within its own limits. A corresponding variety and complexity are observable in the structure of the entire ode. Instead of being restricted, like the compositions of the melic class, to a single model of strophe repeated in succession, although that method is not excluded, it admits of several varieties of form; strophe and antistrophe alternating and responding to each other. This arrangement was still further varied by the addition of the epode; which term, as already remarked, denoted, in this more advanced stage of strophic composition, a shorter subsidiary strophe subjoined to each pair of principal masses, and imparting distinctness to their periodical returns. To these three elements, strophe, antistrophe, and epode, may be reduced the numerous forms of ode exemplified in the page of the lyric or tragic poets. The epode, when prefixed to the two former, assumes the name of Proöde; when inserted between them, that of Mesode.

The choric ode, in addition to its greater variety of parts and numbers, and the wider scope which it thus afforded to the expression of mental emotion, is distinguished, as a general rule, by a superior dignity and severity of character, qualifying it for the more solemn or sacred orders of public festivity. To such occasions, accordingly, during the flourishing ages of Greek art, its performance was solely or chiefly appropriated. The more weight, therefore, is due to the tradition which traces its earliest cultivation to the Sparto-Dorian school. The term Cultivation is here again

more appropriate than that of Invention. The origin of antistrophic recital, like that of the elementary strophe or stanza, may reasonably be sought in the more primitive ages of poetical culture. The practice of singing in parts, or of choral response, whether with or without alternation of measure and air, was as old as the days of Homer.[1] The merit of the Spartan school may, therefore, be limited to the establishment of a more regular and scientific method of arrangement. The claims of Lacedæmon, as placed on this modified basis, are also favoured by the peculiarly close connexion between lyric poetry and the dance in this republic. While to that connexion this style of composition is indebted for its proper title of Choric, or Choral, the name Strophe is derived, with apparent reason, from the turns or passages of the choristers in the performance of their evolutions. Strophe and Antistrophe signify their advance, retreat, or procession round the altar; Epode, their stationary position. To Alcman, accordingly, one of the state musicians of Sparta, the scanty notices transmitted by the antients ascribe the "invention" of the antistrophic ode. He is more particularly cited[2] as the author of one consisting of fourteen strophes, subdivided into two sets of seven, each with its separate form of numbers; but in what precise mode the parts of each were disposed, we are not informed. The remains of Alcman com-

[1] Il. I. 604. The notices of several nomes of Olympus, Terpander, and other poets prior to Alcman, also seem to point at various forms of antistrophic arrangement. It seems, however, doubtful whether that arrangement in these cases extended to the literary text, or may not rather have been limited to the musical element of the composition. Plut. de Mus. IV. VII. VIII. alibi.

[2] Heph. Gaisf. p. 134.; conf. Welck. Fragm. Alcm. p. 13.

prise accordingly several passages marked by much of the continuity and consistency proper to the choric strophe, but in no case of sufficient length to admit of their being distinctly identified as parts of an antistrophic ode.

The addition of the epode to the strophe and antistrophe is ascribed to another distinguished lyric poet, Stesichorus of Himera, a younger contemporary of Alcman. To the joint services of these two authors in the improvement of their art allusion appears to be made in the notice by Clemens of Alexandria[1], that, while Alcman "invented" the choric ode, Stesichorus "invented" the hymn. The latter allusion is probably to the perfecting of the choral or antistrophic order of hymn, which had supplanted the old epic hymns in the popular festivals, and of which the epode formed a principal element.[2]

"Triad of Stesichorus."

So great was the celebrity of this invention in later times, that the "Triad of Stesichorus"[3] (denoting the strophe, antistrophe, and epode) passed into a proverb for the fundamental elements of a liberal educa-

[1] Str. I. p. 308 c.; conf. Plut. de Mus. XII.; Dion. Hal. de Comp. Verb. XIX.

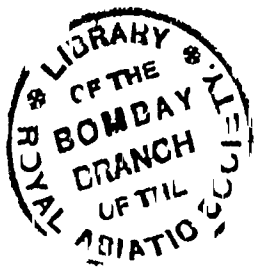
[2] Similar seems to be the import of another enigmatical, and in its literal sense unmeaning, statement of Suidas, that the name of the Himeræan poet "was altered from Tisias to Stesichorus, owing to his having first brought the lyre into use in the accompaniment of the chorus." The allusion is here probably to the distinction mentioned by other authorities, that the song of the chorus when in motion, that is, when executing, in the primitive spirit of the choral ode, the strophe and antistrophe, was accompanied by wind instruments; but that the "hymn," in the stricter sense, or "stationary part" of the solemnity, namely the epode in the same early practice, was accompanied by the lyre. Suid. v. Στησίχορος; Procl. Chrestom. Gaisf. p. 381.; Didym. ap. Etym. M. v. προσῳδ.

[3] Suid. v. οὐδὲ τὰ τρία Στησιχόρου; conf. Gaisf. Paræmiogr. Gr. p. 88. 153.; Klein. Fragm. Stesich. p. 37.

tion. The pedigree of this poet is somewhat obscure. He seems, however, to have been a member of a Locrian family settled in the mixed colony of Himera, on the north coast of Sicily; and the more fabulous details of his history traced his descent from Hesiod.[1] Upon this view of his origin, it would result that to the same primitive Æolian genius to which Greece owed the perfection of her epic minstrelsy in the muse of Homer and Hesiod, and of her art of music in that of Terpander, she was also indebted, in a somewhat less direct line, for the last finish imparted by Stesichorus to this, her purest and most dignified order of lyric poetry. Nor can a share, perhaps an equal share, in the merit of perfecting this branch of art be justly withheld from another poet of purest Æolian blood, and an early contemporary of Stesichorus, Arion of Lesbos[2]; whose dithyrambic chorus, there can be little doubt, embodied, though in less distinct or regular forms, the same three essential elements of antistrophic composition. And here, again, it is remarkable that the fruits of Æolian genius were elicited and matured under Dorian auspices. Arion was the court musician of Periander of Corinth, where the dithyramb was first composed and performed. That Stesichorus also composed under Dorian influences may be assumed, as well from the ascendancy of the Dorian race and habits in his native island, as from the grave and serious tendency of his compositions and his preference of the Doric dialect. The historical notices, however, of these two authors contain no allusion to any such connexion between them and Sparta, as existed in the case of their predecessors in lyric invention. From

[1] Infra, Ch. iv. [2] Infra, Ch. ii. iv.

the period when they flourished, downwards, the claims of that republic to the honour of exclusive or central seat of the Dorian school of art appear to have declined, simultaneously with the general spread of poetical and musical culture through the other members of the confederacy; nor does Sparta herself exhibit any similar zeal for the maintenance of her ascendancy.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CHAP. II.

ORDERS AND OCCASIONS OF LYRIC PERFORMANCE.

1. THEIR NUMBER AND VARIETY. NOME. HYMN.—2. PÆAN.—3. HYPORCHEM, ITS DRAMATIC ELEMENT.—4. PROSODIA. PARTHENIA. DAPHNEPHORICA.—5. DITHYRAMB. ITS EARLIEST FORM. DITHYRAMB OF ARION.—6. DORIC MIMES.—7. POETICAL AND METRICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ARION'S DITHYRAMB.—8. ITS OTHER TITLES. CYCLIAN CHORUS. TRAGŒDIA, OR GOAT-SONG.—9. TRANSITION FROM DITHYRAMBIC TRAGŒDIA TO ATTIC TRAGEDY. LYRIC TRAGEDY.—10. LYRIC COMEDY; "SATYR" OR SATYRIC DRAMA.—11. THRENUS. SONG OF LINUS.—12. CONVIVIAL POETRY (SYMPOSIACA). PÆAN. PARŒNIA.—13. SCOLIA, OR GREEK MUSICAL CATCHES.—14. THEIR POETICAL AND RHYTHMICAL CHARACTERISTICS. ALLITERATION AND RHYME.—15. ENCOMIA. COMUS. EPINICIA.—16. EROTICA. GAMELIA. HYMENÆA. EPITHALAMIA.—17. MILITARY MUSIC: WAR SONGS, MARCHES.—18. "POPULAR" SONGS. DEFINITION OF.—19. EXTANT SPECIMENS.

Their number and variety.

1. HAVING now passed in review the origin and elementary principles of Greek lyric composition, it remains to consider the various modes of its adaptation to those festive rites, public or private, with which its higher cultivation was so vitally connected. The number, variety, and methodical distinction of these modes or orders of lyric performance supply one of the most striking illustrations of the fertile genius and discriminating taste of the Greek nation. From Olympus down to the workshop or the sheepfold, from Jove and Apollo to the wandering mendicant, every rank and degree of the Greek community, divine or human, had its own proper allotment of poetical celebration. The gods had their hymns, nomes, pæans, dithyrambs; great men their encomia and epinicia; the votaries of pleasure their erotica and symposiaca; the mourner his threnodia and elegies; the vinedresser had his epilenia; the herdsmen

their bucolica; even the beggar his iresione and chelodonisma. The number of these varieties of Grecian song recorded under distinct titles, and most of them enjoying a certain benefit of scientific culture, amounts to upwards of fifty.[1] A portion, indeed, of this number no longer exist but in name; and, with the exception of those immediately connected with the great public festivals, few have been described with such precision, or are so clearly illustrated by existing specimens, as to supply materials for treatment as distinct heads of subject. Those which in this more tangible capacity will here chiefly claim attention are the following: the Hymn, Nome, Pæan, Hyporchem, Prosodium, Parthenia, Dithyramb, Threnus, Symposiaca, Encomia, Epinicia, Erotica, Gamelia, Embateria. This catalogue may be ranged under two general heads, of Sacred, and Profane or secular[2]: the former comprising poems in exclusive honour of the gods; the latter, those devoted, in whole or in part, to human concerns or interests. To the former head belong the hymn, nome, pæan, hyporchem, prosodium, dithyramb; to the latter, the symposiaca, encomia, epinicia, erotica, gamelia, embateria.[3] As an intermediate class, partaking of both characters, may be ranked the threnus and parthenia. To the notices of these more regular orders of composition will be subjoined, under the head of "Popular Songs," a few

[1] See Ilgen, Scolia sive Carmina convivialia Græcc. p. xiv. sqq.

[2] Conf. Procl. Chrestom. ed. Gaisf. p. 380. sq.

[3] To these might be added the Elegy in its various branches, and the lampoon, or satirical poem (σίλλοι, σκωπτικά, &c.). The elegy, however, has already (Ch. i.) been examined under its own proper title. For the others, which can scarcely be considered as forming any separate branch of composition, see the previous head of Iambus, and the sections on the Scolia infra, § 13. sq.; with those on Archilochus and Simonides in Ch. iii.

remarks on some other highly characteristic but less polished productions of Greek lyric genius.

The first two names in the above list, Hymn and Nome, are, as remarked in a former page, in their primary sense, rather generic terms applicable to every more dignified species of melic composition, than designations of any particular class of ode. The pæan, for example, was the hymn of rejoicing or triumph; the prosodion, the processional hymn; the procœmium, the introductory hymn to the sacred office in the sanctuary. The term Dithyramb, in its origin, appears to have comprised every species of Bacchic hymn, as that of Pæan, in familiar usage, was more especially applied to the hymns to Apollo.[1] In later times, however, the title Hymn appears to have attached, in a peculiar sense, to the odes sung by the chorus during the sacrifice, when stationary around the altar.[2] Hymn.

Nome, in its original more comprehensive signification, denoted simply that more definite adaptation of musical to poetical numbers which forms the essence of all lyric composition, as distinct from the continuous chant or recitative of the old epic minstrelsy.[3] In the more advanced stages of lyric art, however, the term is restricted, in a proper sense, to a certain more solemn order of hymn or anthem, the older specimens of which were marked by a peculiar simplicity and dignity of style, and passed generally current as productions of the earliest and purest periods of lyric art.[4] Consistently with the same gravity and solemnity of character, the nome is Nome.

[1] Didym. ap. Etym. M. et Orion Theb. v. ὕμνος; Menand. Rh. de Encom. II.; Plato de Legg. p. 700.

[2] See supra, p. 60.

[3] See Ch. i. § 9.

[4] Plato de Legg. p. 700.; Procli Chrestom. p. 383. Gaisf.

further described as the only branch of Greek lyric composition which was never combined with the performance of the dance, nor ever, by consequence, admitted of antistrophic arrangement.[1] No ascertained examples have been preserved of poems entitled Nomes in this more limited sense.

PÆAN.

Pæan.

2. The pæan, in its oldest and purest form, may be considered in the light of the popular hymn or anthem of the Hellenic race.[2] It united, by a natural association of opposite ideas, the characteristics both of song of war and song of peace. As a song of rejoicing for victory in battle, or deliverance from calamity, it was also a song of repose and relaxation, as the fruits of the achievement. A pæan was sung accordingly on attacking the enemy, to propitiate the gods and encourage the troops, and after the victory, to celebrate the triumph.[3] The pæan was, at every period, more immediately connected with the worship of Apollo, a preference to which he was entitled as the patron god of music. But that preference was not such as to exclude the claims of other deities.[4] In the Iliad the pæan is described as sung in special honour of Apollo, at the expiatory sacrifice in his Chrysean sanctuary. It is also chanted by the whole Greek army, as a triumphal hymn, on the

[1] Aristot. Probl. xix. 32.

[2] Hence occasionally, though rarely, and in a somewhat far-fetched strain of poetical metaphor, applied in the same general sense of hymn or ode to other compositions of a very different character.' Bode, Gesch. d. Hell. Dichtk. vol. ii. part i. p. 20.

[3] Thucyd. ii. xci., iv. xliii. Schol. ad loc., vii. xliv.; Xenoph. Anab. iii. ii. 5. See infra, §§ 12. 17.

[4] Procl. Chrest. p. 381. Gaisf.; Boeckh. Fragm. Pind. p. 568.; conf. Bernhardhy, Gesch. der Griech. Lit. vol. ii. p. 450.

march back to the ships with the body of Hector. On this occasion, however, it could hardly have been selected as the hymn of Apollo, Hector having been throughout the war notoriously the favourite hero of that deity, who, in support of the Trojan cause, had shown himself the most fatal enemy of the Greeks. The name, in its Homeric form, Paiëon, corresponds with that of Homer's god of medicine, and may be referred to the same origin, as significant of relief or deliverance from labour or distress.[1]

Among the more familiar examples of songs under this title, sung in honour of other deities besides Apollo, were the martial pæans chanted in the hour of battle or at other times. These, in each state, were commonly dedicated to its own patron deity, and even among the Spartans, whose patron god was Apollo, were frequently addressed to Mars.[2]

The custom of singing the pæan at banquets, restricted by Homer to expiatory feasts, prevailed in subsequent ages at ordinary convivial meetings. The musical part of such entertainments commenced and closed with pæans chanted in chorus by the whole company, and usually distinguished from other convivial songs by the recurrence of the burden "Ieïe Pæan."[3] Pæans were also chanted at the ratification of treaties of peace, and, in Roman times, at the coronation of the emperors. The instances in which pæans were composed in honour of private individuals are confined to the lower more corrupt ages of Hel-

[1] (πάω) παύω. The phrases ἰήϊος, ἰήϊε, may in like manner be derived from ἰάομαι. The two gods were identified in later times; but there is no trace of any such connexion in the early mythology.

[2] Suid. v. παιᾶνες.

[3] Alcman. frg. XI. Bergk.; Plat. Symp. p. 176.; Plut. Symp. I. i., VII. viii. 4.; Xenoph. Anab. v. ix. (VI. i.), Symp. II. i.; Timæ. ap. Athen. VI. p. 250. conf. v. p. 179., XIV. p. 630.

lenism, when the bestowal of divine honours on great men became the favourite form of popular adulation. Such were the pæans celebrating Lysander, Antigonus, and Demetrius Poliorcetes.[1]

That the pæan of the Homeric age was in hexameter verse may be assumed, on the general ground, that this was the chief or only metre adapted at that early period to the higher orders of poetry. The first artistic arrangement of pæans to other properly melic forms is commonly ascribed to the Creto-Spartan musician Thaletas[2], who is said to have composed pæans in the rhythm which, from his own country or from himself as its accredited inventor, acquired the name of Cretic. Hence, also, a certain modification of that rhythm, more especially adapted to these hymns, obtained the title of Pæonic measure; the peculiar feature of which was the solution of one of the two long syllables of the Cretic, imparting liveliness and variety to what is in itself a somewhat monotonous cadence. Before the time of Thaletas, however, Archilochus sang the "Lesbian pæan" in lively trochaïc measure[3]; and, in the subsequent stages of its cultivation, the style of composition admitted a great variety of rhythmical arrangement, with little or no special preference, judging from extant remains, either of the cretic or pæonic.[4] The antiquity of a real or mythical connexion of the pæan with Cretan forms of celebration is vouched for by the Homeric hymn to Apollo Pythius, where the destined Cretan ministers of his oracle, on their progress from the shore to the sanctuary, are described as "chanting the pæan

[1] Athen. vi. p. 253., conf. xv. p. 696.; Diog. Laert. v. v. 7.; Plut. vit. Lys. xviii., vit. Cleom. xvi.

[2] Plut. de Mus. ix. x.; conf. Boeckh. de Metr. Pind. p. 143.

[3] Frg. xli. Bergk.

[4] Boeckh. Fragm. Pind. p. 567. sqq.

in the mode in which the Cretan pæan was used to be chanted." The song was also accompanied on this occasion by dancing, Apollo himself heading the chorus. This, while an apparent innovation upon Homer's description of the pæan, is also in harmony with Creto-Dorian taste, which loved to unite the dance with almost every branch of festive solemnity. The dance accordingly remained in later times a popular, though not an essential, accompaniment of the pæan.[1]

HYPORCHEM.

3. The term Hyporchem denotes, in familiar usage, both a popular Hellenic dance, and the branch of lyric composition by which that dance was accompanied.[2] The musical or poetical element of the hyporchem, from the earliest period of its cultivation, appears in style and numbers to have closely resembled the pæan. Both performances were connected preferably, during their best period, with the worship of Apollo[3]; and a favourite measure of both was the cretic or pæonic. Much similarity is accordingly observable between existing specimens of each order of composition; and among the antient critics themselves it was often matter of doubt under which denomination an ode was to be ranked.[4] The main difference seems to have been, that the pæan was characterised by a pervading dignity and propriety, the hyporchem by a greater degree of vivacity, tending at times to levity or license.[5] Another feature of distinction between the pæan and the hyporchem was the

Hyporchem.

[1] Athen. xiv. p. 631.
[2] Procl. Chrestom. p. 384. Gaisf.
[3] Menand. Rhet. de Encom. i.
[4] Plut. de Mus. ix.; conf. Boeckh. de Metr. Pind. p. 201.
[5] See a hyporchem of Pratinas ap. Athen. xiv. p. 617.

greater prevalence in the latter, when combined with dancing, of that mimetic action which entered more or less into all such solemnities among the Greeks. That this ingredient of the ceremony was carried in the hyporchem to a high degree of perfection may be gathered from Plutarch's special appeal to that dance, in illustration of his maxim, that poetry was an articulate species of dancing, the dance a silent species of poetry.[1] A third distinction between the two was, that the pæan, during the best ages, was exclusively addressed to the gods; hyporchems appear to have been, though rarely, composed and performed in honour of men.[2] In both styles of composition, the accompaniment of wind or of stringed instruments was equally authorised by reference to the place or occasion of the performance.

Dramatic element of the hyporchem.

There was this further interesting analogy between the pæan and the hyporchem, that, while the pæan as above characterised was the antient national anthem of the Hellenic race, the hyporchem may equally claim to represent their oldest popular dance. The chorus described by Homer as sculptured on one of the compartments of the shield of Achilles corresponds in all essential particulars, as has been remarked by the best classical authorities, to the hyporchematic dance, as that dance was performed in every subsequent age of Greek antiquity, and as still performed by the native peasantry of various parts of Greece on days of popular festivity. The chorus, in the Iliad[3], consists of a band of youths and maidens in festive attire, with joined hands, sometimes re-

[1] Symp. IX. XV. 2.; conf. Luc. de Salt. XVI.; Athen. I. p. 15., XIV. p. 631.

[2] Boeckh. Fragm. Pind. p. 596. sq.

[3] XVIII. 590. sqq.

volving in a circle around the minstrel, who, seated in the midst, accompanies their motions with voice and lyre; sometimes in prolonged file, advancing and retiring to and fro, while two chief dancers, or leaders of the chorus, perform their evolutions in the centre. In the Odyssey[1] the same performance, including the two independant dancers or leaders, takes place in the hall of Menelaus. In the Homeric hymn to Apollo[2], the dance of the divine chorus in Olympus is almost identical with that of the Iliad. The chorus or circle is composed of female deities alone, Venus, the Graces, Diana, Hebe, and the Hours; Apollo acts as musician; while Mars and Mercury figure as chief dancers. In the Delian hyporchem of later times, as described by Lucian[3], the chorus, as in the Shield, consists of youths and maidens; while certain of the more accomplished artists are said to perform "the hyporchem;" a term here denoting, as both the spirit of the text and the native commentators imply, the functions of the chief dancers or gesticulators in Homer's description. From the general tenor of these accounts it also results, that the office of the latter class of performers consisted, in great part at least, of the dramatic action described by Plutarch as entering so largely into the composition of the hyporchem. Athenæus[4], also, characterises the hyporchematic dance as shadowing forth, by mimic gesticulations, the words of the song by which it was accompanied; and the choristers of the Delian festival, in the Delian hymn to Apollo[5], are made to boast of their skill in imitating the voices and gestures of men.

[1] iv. 17. [2] Hymn Ap. Pyth. 16. sqq. [3] De Saltu, xiii. xvi.; conf. Athen. i. p. 15. [4] Loc. cit. [5] 162.

The remote origin or "invention" of the hyporchem, like that of the pæan in its lyric form, is traced in the popular notices of the antients[1] to Crete; and this view is in so far supported by Homer, that he describes the sculptured chorus of the Shield as identical with that represented on another older work of art executed by Dædalus for the Cretan Ariadne.[2] Dædalus, however, by reference to the foregoing illustrations of the hyporchem, may here safely be considered in his Panhellenic rather than his local capacity, as eponyme of the inventive genius of all Greece rather than of Crete alone. The other tradition of the "invention" of the hyporchem by the Cretan Thaletas[3] must refer either to the early fabulous personality of that musician, or to the subsequent adaptation of the performance by the later Cretan artist to the more refined lyric forms of accompaniment.

The chief recorded authors of hyporchematic odes during this period were Thaletas and Xenodamus of Cithera[4]; but no remains of their works have been preserved. The extant specimens of the immediately succeeding period emanate from its most celebrated poets, Simonides, Pindar, Pratinas, Bacchylides, with several of whom the hyporchem was a favourite style.

Although the dance was the fundamental and probably an indispensable feature of the hyporchem in its earlier stages, there can be little doubt that its lyric element was afterwards separately cultivated. The hyporchems described in later times as com-

[1] Sosibius ap. Schol. Pind. Pyth. II. 127.
[2] Il. XVIII.; conf. XVI. 617., Athen. ad loc. v. p. 181.
[3] Schol. Pind. Pyth. ibid.
[4] Plut. de Mus. IX.; Schol. Pind. Pyth. II. 127.

posed in honour of private individuals could hardly be destined for orchestic exhibition. The citation, therefore, of Pindar, by some authorities [1], as the "inventor" of the hyporchem, alludes, probably, to his having been considered the first author of hyporchematic odes in the purely poetical or literary sense of the term.

PROSODIUM. PARTHENIA. DAPHNEPHORICA.

Prosodium.

4. The prosodion was the hymn sung by the choristers in their procession to the altar or sanctuary. Although this order of composition must have been connected with the service of every deity of whose rites processional movements formed a part, its early culture and chief popularity were concentrated around the worship of Apollo. The prosodion, accordingly, is occasionally classed under the general head of Pæan, by the special title of Prosodiac, or Processional, pæan. Like the kindred order of sacred odes, the nome and pæan proper, it was composed, in the earlier epochs of its cultivation, in hexameter measure. Such, apparently, was the style of the celebrated Delian prosodium of Eumelus, the earliest composition with which the name Prosodium is connected.[2] Afterwards, when the lyric school of art acquired the ascendant, and the dance became popular even in these graver processional solemnities[3], lyric numbers were exclusively preferred. The prosodia of Pindar, the oldest of which any considerable remains have been preserved, are chiefly in the same grave Dorian measure as the greater part of

[1] Clem. Alex. Str. I. p. 308. Sylb.

[2] Procl. Chrest. p. 382.; conf. supra, Vol. II. p. 452.; Boeckh. Fragm. Pind. p. 586.

[3] Xenoph. Anab. v. ix., vi. i.

his epinician odes. This measure, accordingly, is described as the proper rhythm of the prosodion.[1] The accompaniment of the flute, as usual in festive movements, was preferred to that of the harp, customary in the stationary choral rites.[2]

Parthenia.

To the head of prosodia belongs in part the order of composition entitled Parthenia[3], or "virginal songs." This title, however, comprises two different kinds of ode: first, processional or sacrifical songs, sung, as their name denotes, by virgins, in honour of certain deities; secondly, songs in honour of those same youthful members of the female sex.[4] The parthenia of the first class may therefore be characterised as sacred; those of the second as profane, or secular.

The sacred parthenia were substantially hymns, pæans, or prosodia, as the object or occasion might require. Their distinctive feature, as compared with other compositions of the same class, seems to have been little more than what it were natural to expect would be imparted to them by the genius of the performers. That feature is described, accordingly, as a blending of feminine grace and tenderness with devotional solemnity.[5] Hence may be explained the great popularity of this style of composition with most of the leading melic poets, from Alcman downwards.[6] Among the religious ceremonies in which these parthenia were introduced, the

Daphnephorica.

[1] Plut. de Mus. xviii.

[2] Didym. ap. Etym. M. v. ὕμνος; Procl. Chrest. p. 382. Gaisf.

[3] Athen. xiv. p. 631.

[4] Schol. Aristoph. Av. 920.; Suid. v. Παρθενεῖα; Procl. Chrestom. p. 380. Gaisf.

[5] Dion. Hal. de adm. vi dic. Demosth. ed. Reisk. vol. iii. p. 1073.; conf. Plut. de M. xvii.

[6] Plut. de Mus. xvii.

only one of which a distinct account[1] has been transmitted is the Daphnephorica, or feast of the Laurel branches, celebrated at Thebes in honour of Apollo Ismenius. In this festivity a chorus of young maidens, headed by a high priest of equally tender age, selected annually for the office from one of the first families in the city, marched or danced in procession, bearing laurel branches for the decoration of a mystical statue, or cippus, of the god. The rite was traced back, in Theban tradition, to the remotest period of mythical antiquity; and Hercules is said to have taken his annual turn of office as juvenile leader of the train. The parthenia sung on this, and probably on the same or similar laurel processions at Athens and elsewhere, were distinguished by the title of Daphnephorica[2], common to the ceremony itself. Under this title were ranged, as a separate head, a portion of the three books into which the parthenia of Pindar were divided.[3] Parthenia were also performed in honour of Diana from the days of Homer downwards[4], and the sacred parthenia of Sparta seem to have been limited to the worship of that goddess.[5]

The other class of parthenia, performed not by, but in honour of, the virgins, though not properly connected with religious ceremonial, was also originally destined for public festive occasions. It was this distinction which, together with a superior purity and dignity of style and sentiment, constituted them a different order of composition from the ordinary erotica, or love-songs. So marked a tribute

[1] Procl. Chrestom. p. 385. sq. Gaisf.; Pausan. IX. x. 4.

[2] Procl. loc. cit.

[3] Suid. v. Πίνδ; conf. Boeckh. Fragm. Pind. p. 590.

[4] Il. XVI. 180. sqq.

[5] Paus. III. x. 8., IV. xvi. 5.

of respect and homage to the female part of the community may seem but little in unison with the general tenor of the social relations between the sexes in Greece, relations partaking but slightly of the spirit of romantic gallantry prevalent in the earlier stages of modern poetical literature. The anomaly explains itself by the consideration that this order of parthenia was apparently not only of Spartan origin, but limited solely or chiefly to Spartan poets and festivals. It affords, consequently, a marked and interesting illustration of the difference between the social position enjoyed by the female citizens of this republic, and that allotted to them in other parts of Greece. The Spartan dames and damsels, together with their share in the gymnastic as well as festive ceremonial of the state, claimed and enjoyed a corresponding share of the dignity and privileges elsewhere appropriated to the men.[1] This community of public duty and privilege, with their own enthusiastic patriotism, and the jealous superintendance exercised by them over that of their admirers and male relatives, amply entitled them to a public expression of that amount of tender homage, which, even in countries where romantic love is least in the ascendant, fair woman cannot fail to command.

The earliest recorded author of parthenia is Alcman, with whom this branch of composition in both its varieties was an especial favourite.[2] The extant specimens of his collection are chiefly of the secular kind, of which they also appear to be the only relics. The parthenia of Bacchylides, Simonides, and Pindar, with the latter of whom this was a favourite style of

[1] Plut. vit. Lycurg.; conf. Welck. Præf. ad Alcm. p. 10.
[2] Welck. loc. cit.

composition, belong exclusively to the sacred class. No entire ode of either description has been preserved. The parthenia of Pindar are appealed to by the antient critics[1] as samples of his power of infusing grace and tenderness into the severe dignity of the Dorian Muse; which characteristic is confirmed by their existing remains.

DITHYRAMB. LYRIC TRAGEDY.

Dithyramb in its earliest form.

5. This celebrated branch of composition, as the parent of the Attic tragedy, assumes a still greater degree of importance and interest, than would even otherwise justly attach to it on account of its great popularity and extensive influence on the style and taste of every period of Greek poetical literature.

The dithyramb, in its earliest form, was the hymn of Bacchus[2], as the pæan was the hymn of Apollo. The more joyous, even wild and fantastic, attributes of the former deity were supported by a corresponding license in his poetical and musical rites. The dithyramb consequently was, in every stage of its cultivation, the type of the turbulent and enthusiastic element of Greek sacred music. The existing notices of this order of composition are of comparatively recent date; nor, indeed, is there any allusion by Homer, Hesiod, or other primitive authorities, to the festive rites of Bacchus as popular in their day. That the dithyramb, however, in its simpler melic form of Dionysiac hymn or pæan, was already a cultivated branch of lyric art in the age of Archilochus appears from a still extant distich of that poet[3], in

[1] Dion. Hal. de adm. vi dic. Demosth. Reisk. p. 1073.

[2] Plat. de Legg. p. 700.

[3] Frg. 72. Bergk; conf. Athen. xiv. p. 628.

which he mentions it by name as the "beautiful song of Dionysus," and prides himself on his skill in its execution. These verses are in a lively vein of trochaïc tetrameter, the same measure which Aristotle[1] describes as originally proper to the dithyramb: they may hence be presumed to have been themselves the exordium of a dithyrambic ode or chorus.

Dithyramb of Arion.

In the generation subsequent to Archilochus, a more extended and artificial character was imparted to this branch of lyric performance by Arion, the celebrated Lesbian musician[2], whose personal adventures form so interesting an episode in the romance of Greek literary history.[3] From the æra of this minstrel date, accordingly, the subsequent high vogue and popularity of the dithyramb, and the powerful influence which it exercised on the combined arts of poetry and music in Greece. It is this new epoch in its history which the respectable body of antient authorities headed by Pindar and Herodotus must be understood to have in view, who quote Arion, in the face of the above passage of Archilochus, as "inventor" of the dithyramb. These notices, therefore, may be added to the many examples which the history of this period supplies of confusion between the terms inventor and improver.[4]

[1] Poetic. iv. (Grüf.); conf. Rhet. iii. i. p. 139. Tauchn.

[2] Herodot. i. xxiii.; Pind. Ol. xiii. 25.; Aristot. ap. Procl. Chrest. p. 382. Gaisf.; Hellanic. et Dicæarch. ap. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1403.; Dio. Chrys. or. xxxvii. init.; Suid. v. Ἀρίων. [3] See Ch. iv.

[4] How little confidence can be placed in the letter of such statements is clear from the fact that the same Pindar, by whom this invention is in one passage ascribed to Corinth, traces it in another to Thebes, and in a third to Naxos. (Schol. ad ol. xiii. 25.) All three passages, it is evident, must be taken in a merely figurative sense. In the first, Thebes is preferred, as the birthplace of Dionysus; in the second, Naxos, as the favourite seat of his worship; in the third, Corinth, as mother of the more artificial arrangement of his festive rite.

Doric mimes.

6. The changes, however, effected by Arion in the primitive form of the dithyramb were such as in some degree to constitute it, in his hands, an altogether new rite in honour of Dionysus. These changes consisted in a combination of two previously distinct orders of Bacchic festivity, each probably, in its separate capacity, of very antient date. The one was the old simple dithyramb, or Dionysiac pæan, sung by Archilochus and the companions of his revelries. Upon this purely musical or poetical element was engrafted another kind of entertainment, of a more lively mimetic or dramatic character. This was a grotesque dance, the performers in which, disguised as Satyrs or Silenes, enlivened the human portion of the solemnity with gestures and ejaculations, in imitation of those actions or adventures of the god which supplied the common subject of celebration. The ceremony as thus compounded was under the direction of an exarchon [1], who, reserving certain more important functions for himself, superintended the proper execution of the whole performance.[2] The Satyr-dance, and other more fantastic ingredients of the festival, belonged to a class of rustic mimes, or rude dramatic entertainments, connected from a remote period, especially among the Dorian tribes [3], with the popular rites of Bacchus. The origin of these mimes was carried by tradition as far back as the youth of the god himself, who is reported

[1] Aristot. Poet. IV. Gräf.; Aristid. Orat. tom. I. p. 228. ed. Jebb.

[2] Simonides, frg. 148. Bergk., alludes to the chorus of his dithyramb as fifty in number. But it seems doubtful if the practice of his age can afford a fair criterion for that of Arion. Conf. Pollux, IV. 110.

[3] Aristot. Poet. III. ed. Gräf.; Athen. XIV. p. 630. sq.; Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. VII. p. 1491. Reisk.; Procl. Chrestom. p. 383.; Müller, Dor. vol. II. p. 343. sqq.; Grysar de Dor. Comœd. p. 18. sqq.; conf. Welck. Nachtr. zur Æsch. Tril. p. 222. sqq.

to have been attended on his Indian expedition by a troop of followers skilled in their performance.[1] Among the Lacedæmonians they were called Dimalea (frightful), and the chief actors Mimeli or Dicelistæ[2] (mimics or mountebanks). Part of the ceremony, as practised among the same Lacedæmonians, seems to have consisted in the burlesque representation of roguish or humorous points of character, by equally burlesque personifications of the individuals or classes chiefly distinguished in real life by the peculiarities satirised.[3] These entertainments were common, under other varieties of name, in the neighbouring Dorian states. Such were the Phallephoria of Sicyon, where the actors, instead of Dicelistæ, were called Autocabdali[4]; elsewhere they bore the name of Iambi.[5] A similar form of mimic drollery practised in the neighbouring Megara was imported by Susarion, a citizen of that town, into the Attic demus of Icaria, a chief seat of the Attic Dionysiaca; and was ultimately matured, under the auspices of Attic genius, into the regular Comedy, as was the more elegant dithyramb, under the same Attic influence, into the nobler Tragic drama. Phlius, another Dorian city of Northern Peloponnesus, advanced a like claim to priority of invention in regard to the remaining department of the Attic drama, the "Satyr," as an emanation from her own favourite branch of Dionysiac mummery, a dance of Satyrs, similar to the Dimalea of Lacedæmon. This earlier developement of a

[1] Diod. Sic. iv. 5.; conf. Athen. xiv. 631.

[2] Sosib. ap. Athen. xiv. p. 621.; Pollux, iv. 104.; Suid. v. Σωσίβιος, Hesych. v. δεικελισταί; Plut. Lac. Apophth. lvii., vit. Agesil. xxi.; conf. Plut. de Legg. p. 815 c.

[3] Athen. xiv. 621.; Pollux. iv. 104, 105.

[4] Athen. xiv. p. 621.; Suid. v. φαλλοφόροι. [5] Athen. xiv. p. 622.

taste for dramatic representation among the Dorians may be traced in part to a peculiarity of their national manners already pointedly noticed, their fondness for the dance as an ingredient of almost every kind of popular festivity: for dancing, among all imaginative races, is inseparable from some species of mimic representation, especially in the ruder more grotesque styles of performance, such as were most congenial to Dorian popular taste.

Poetical and metrical properties of Arion's dithyramb.

7. Arion is described as "the first who introduced the Dionysiac Satyrs reciting verses."[1] Before his time, therefore, their choric exercises may have been limited chiefly to dancing with gesticulation, interspersed with humorous sallies[2], not necessarily couched in metrical form. In his arrangement these sallies assumed a more distinctly dramatic form of response or dialogue.[3] It may also be presumed, that the original rudeness of the Satyric choristers, both as to equipment and action, was partially softened down, on their selection by a poet of so fine a taste as Arion for the rehearsal of lyric compositions, which, with all their turbulent license, were distinguished for elegance and refinement. The more properly poetical functions of the ceremony belonged to the exarchon or ballet-master. Those functions comprised, besides the general direction of the chorus, the recital, with appropriate proœmium[4] and epode[5], of some popular adventure of the god. This graver

[1] Suid. v. *Ἀρίων.* [2] *αὐτοσχεδιαστικά.* Aristot. Poet. IV. (Gräf.)

[3] Diog. Laert. III. i. 34. Tauchn.

[4] Aristot. Rhetor. III. xiv. p. 169. Tauchn. Conf. p. 171. where the proœmium is curiously described, in figurative illustration of a different matter, as the essential distinction between the dithyramb of Arion and the ruder Doric mimes above alluded to: *τούτων δὲ ἕνεκα προοιμίου ἐστὶ, ἢ κόσμου χάριν· ὡς αὐτοκάβδαλα φαίνεται ἐὰν μὴ ἔχῃ.*

[5] Aristid. Rh. vol. I. p. 228. ed. Oxon. 1730.

part of the solemnity was accompanied or relieved by the mimic action of the inferior performers, shadowing forth the vicissitudes of the tale, or chiming in, from time to time, with their own more humorous share of lyric recitation. From all this it would appear that the essential value of the combined entertainment consisted, not so much in the excellence of the poetical composition, as in the musical accompaniment and dramatic spirit of the execution. Much may still have been extemporaneous, at least in the more properly mimic element. Hence there is no notice of a complete choral dithyramb of this earlier class having been transmitted to posterity as a finished written performance. The part undertaken by the exarchon was probably the only portion of the whole marked by any high degree of poetical artifice. It may be presumed, therefore, that the "procemia" of Arion[1], the only works of that poet which, with the exception of some popular songs or sonnets, appear to have been transmitted to posterity, were specimens of the more strictly poetical ingredient of his dithyramb.

It is easy to imagine the general effect of such an exhibition as singularly striking and animated. In the centre or foreground an enthusiastic poet, warmed by his subject, and probably by the inspiring gifts of the god of his celebration, at the head of an accomplished choir, and surrounded by an audience highly susceptible, to say the least, of the same Bacchic influences, chants the praises, and records the mythical exploits, of the most brilliantly fantastic of Greek deities, with all the power and harmony of Æolo-Doric genius, all the liveliness of extemporane-

[1] Suid. v. *Ἀρίων*.

ous effect, all the charm of musical accompaniment; while, around or among the more dignified actors, the grotesque participators in the divine exploits season with mimic terrors and lively ejaculations the more equable tenor of the solemnity.

Aristotle[1] describes the dithyramb of Arion as antistrophic, and as distinguished by this peculiarity from the later form of dithyramb introduced by Lasus of Hermione, and of which an unlimited variety of melic arrangement, or rather of elegant license and disorder, formed one of the chief characteristics. The antistrophic arrangement is further described by the same critic as having been necessary, in this earlier stage of the ceremonial, to secure order in the performances of a band consisting in great part of a less scientific class of choristers. It may hence be assumed, that the Satyric choir was divided, as usual in the more refined dramatic practice of later times, into two or more bands or subdivisions, who responded by their movements and voices to each other; the proœmia and epodès, the graver more stationary parts of the solemnity, being reserved for the exarchon. The claims, therefore, of Arion to the honour of inventing or perfecting the antistrophic order of composition may be considered as equal, if not prior, to those of Stesichorus. The precedence usually awarded to the latter poet may be due partly to his having imparted a greater degree of regularity to his choric arrangements, partly to his having applied them to a graver more dignified order of choral performance.[2]

[1] Problem. XIX. 15.; conf. Dion. Hal. de Compos. Verb. XIX.; Plut. de Mus. XII.

[2] See supra, B. I. Ch. i. § 15.

Arion, the inventor of this celebrated entertainment, and the most distinguished musician of his age, was, like most of the other more illustrious melic poets or musical composers of this period, a native of the isle of Lesbos. This new and brilliant phasis, therefore, of the Lyric Muse, so important, not only in its immediate influence, but in its remote effects, was another creation of that Æolian genius to which Hellas had already been indebted for so many other important steps in the progress of her poetical culture. By a singular fatality also, here as in other previous cases, the fruits of that genius were elicited upon Dorian soil and under Dorian auspices. Arion was the state musician of Periander of Corinth, under whose patronage his invention was matured and carried into effect. Corinth was at this period the wealthiest and most flourishing city of Greece, a leading member of the Dorian confederacy, and one which prided herself on blending with the sterner features of the old national character taste and talent for those elegant pursuits in which it was the boast of the sister Hellenic races to excel. To foster these dispositions was a principal object of her present ruler, Periander; a munificent patron of art and literature, from motives, not merely of taste, but of policy, as the means of softening and subduing the minds of the citizens to a more ready submission to his sway: and few such means could be better adapted to his object than the establishment of this proverbially attractive and licentious species of public amusement. The Doric dialect was preferred by Arion to his native Æolic for his dithyramb, partly, it may be presumed, as a natural compliment to the Dorian seat of the invention, partly

in consideration of the greater prevalence of Dorian materials in the framing of the rite; and the same dialect maintained its ground in all the subsequent stages or phases of dithyrambic composition. For the musical accompaniment, however, the lighter Phrygian harmony was preferred.[1] Arion being himself chiefly celebrated as a citharœdus, or lute-player, it may be presumed that the proœmia, and other more regular parts of the performance which devolved on himself or his fellow-exarchons, were accompanied by the lyre or lute[2]; the auletic class of instruments, usually preferred in all Bacchic rites, being reserved for the more turbulent orchestic or mimic portion of the solemnity.[3]

Its other titles.

Cyclian chorus.

8. The etymology of the term Dithyramb is involved in an obscurity which no effort of scholarship[4] has hitherto succeeded in clearing up. Another name familiarly applied to the invention of Arion is that of Cyclian[5] or Circular chorus. This title is evidently derived from some peculiarity in the arrangement of the ceremony, the precise nature of which is not ascertained. It was one, however, of so marked a character as to have obtained prominence in the mythical history of the Lesbian poet, whose father, in compliment to the talent of the son, bears the name of Cycleus.[6] The interpretation, therefore, of the term generally preferred by modern critics, which assumes it to denote the mere processional move-

[1] Aristot. Polit. VIII. vii.; Procl. Chrest. p. 383. Gaisf.

[2] So Athenæus, v. p. 180. [3] Pollux, IV. 81.

[4] Conf. Welck. Nachtr. zur Trilog. p. 191.; Ulrici, Gesch. der Gr. Dichtk. vol. II. p. 479.

[5] Hellanic. et Dicæarch. ap. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1404.; Schol. Pind. Ol. XIII. 25.; Suid. v. Ἀρίων; conf. Procl. Chrest. p. 382.; Auctt. ap. Bentl. Opusc. p. 319. sqq.

[6] Suid. v. Ἀρίων.

ments round the altar during the sacrifice to the god, is far from satisfactory; such movements being a ceremony common to the ordinary sacrifical rites of every deity where choric performances were admitted.[1] It must, therefore, obviously have been in some more specific sense that the definition Circular was appropriated to the dithyrambic chorus. It may have indicated either, as one authority seems to imply [2], some peculiar kind of wheeling or circuitous movement by the choristers, or some similar peculiarity in the mode in which their parts were arranged and distributed.

Tragœdia, or Goat-song.

A third title, of still higher celebrity in subsequent ages, by which these Corinthian Dionysiaca were designated, is that of Tragœdia, or song of the goat. This name, like that of Dithyramb, was neither first suggested by, nor at this early period limited to, the invention of Arion, but was common to most of the other solely or chiefly Dorian solemnities, above noticed, in honour of the same deity.[3] It was generally derived from the goat (Tragos), awarded as prize to the victor among the rival poets or musicians who, according to popular custom, competed on such occasions in celebrating the god.[4] Other commentators interpret it as alluding to the sacrifice of the goat[5], the favourite victim at the altar of Bacchus. A third class of authorities would have it to be, in a more direct sense, the song of the Satyrs themselves, or

[1] Conf. Suid. v. *κύκλια*. [2] Pollux, IV. 104. *ὑπότροχα ὀρχούμενοι.*

[3] Herodot. V. 67.; Aristot. Rhet. III. 1.; Aristoph. ap. Athen. XII. p. 551., conf. XIV. p. 630.; Suid. vv. *Θέσπις*, et *οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόννσον*; Boeckh. Staatsh. der Ath. vol. II. p. 362. sqq.; Corp. Inscr. Gr. vol. I. p. 765.; Welck. Nachtr. zur Tril. p. 239. sqq.

[4] Dioscor. in Anthol. Pal. VII. ep. 410.; Auctt. ap. Bentl. Opusc. p. 315. sq.; Diomed. Putsch. p. 484.

[5] Ap. Welck. Æsch. Tril. p. 240.; Bentl. loc. cit.

goat-like choristers who officiated.[1] The name occurs frequently in connexion with the tragic choruses of Sicyon, at all periods a distinguished seat of Bacchic festivity, both musical and mimic. Among these Sicyonian rites the most remarkable is that familiarly know as the "Tragœdia of Epigenes,"[2] which, though advancing extravagant claims to mythical antiquity, was probably but a variety of the dithyramb of Arion. It is apparently the same "tragic chorus" mentioned by Herodotus[3] as having been diverted by the Sicyonians, at a very remote period, from the celebration of Dionysus to that of their national hero Adrastus, but restored again by Clisthenes (595 B.C.) to its proper subject. This text of Herodotus is the only passage of the antients where allusion occurs to a "tragic," in the now familiar use of the term, or in other words a mournful, ingredient as entering into the composition of the primitive Dorian mimes. It has hence been appealed to by several modern authors[4], who, by a misconception it is apprehended of the original spirit of those entertainments, have assumed the term Tragœdia and its cognates, as applied by the antient critics to the dithyramb of Arion, to indicate even that solemnity to have been of a mournful or pathetic character. It were in itself a fallacious inference, that because the choric mimes of Sicyon, when transferred by a capricious populace from the rites of Bacchus to those of Adrastus (a hero whose whole career was a series of afflicting incidents), had assumed a mournful charac-

[1] Etym. M. v. *τραγῳδία.*

[2] Suid. vv. *Θέσπις* et *οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον*; Apostol. v. *οὐδ. π. τ. Διόνυσον*; conf. Gaisf. Parœm. Gr. p. 153. 356. [3] v. lxvii.

[4] Müll. Hist. of Gr. Lit. p. 290.; conf. Smith's Dict. of Ant. art. Tragœdia.

ter, they must, in their original Dionysiac form, have been marked by similarly doleful features. Bacchus was indeed himself a sufferer as well as an actor in some of his numerous adventures; which circumstance may possibly have suggested an occasional admixture of mimic distress, though probably in grotesque or burlesque form, in the compositions where those adventures were celebrated. But every thing leads to the belief that the proper characteristic of the Bacchic dithyramb, especially as remodelled by Arion, was, like that of the god and his worshippers, an exuberance of jovial excitement. The terms Tragedy and Tragic were, therefore, in the spirit of their early application to these histrionic goat-songs, nearly synonymous with drama and dramatic; and are, in fact, pointedly described by the antient critics as common in this sense to both tragedy and comedy.[1] When the same dramatic forms were transferred from Bacchus to the adventures of human heroes, whose destinies were marked by incidents of a really pathetic character, and dramatised exclusively by human actors, the tone of the performance naturally adapted itself to that of the subject. The term Tragic thus gradually acquired its now classical import, as distinguished from Comic, which, by a parallel train of association, was appropriated to the humorous branches of the same art.

Transition from the dithyramb to Attic tragedy.

9. It were foreign to the present subject, to analyse in detail the successive stages of transition by which the dithyrambic tragedy was transformed into the regular drama of the Athenian theatre. The

[1] Aristot. ap. Ulrici, Gesch. der Griech. Dichtk. vol. II. p. 584. It is not easy, certainly, to imagine any thing really pathetic in the performances of a chorus of Satyrs and Silenes.

following concise, and doubtless authentic, epitome of those stages by Aristotle [1], with a very few illustrative remarks, will here suffice.

"Tragedy derives its origin from the exarchon of the dithyrambic chorus; Comedy from the leader of the phallic chorus. The former branch of poetical art, after many changes, assumed its present character. Æschylus added a second actor to the single performer of old, transferring the more important functions of the solemnity from the chorus to the dialogue. Sophocles added a third actor with scenic decorations. The inferior class of subjects, with their Satyric mummeries, gave place to dignity and pomp; and, instead of the trochaïc measure, formerly preferred as best adapted to the melic and orchestic spirit of the dithyramb, the iambus was substituted, as that which most nearly corresponds to the tone and cadence of familiar dialogue." [2]

The earlier stages of alteration here indicated by Aristotle were, it may be presumed, first, the introduction of other subjects besides the adventures of Bacchus, and, as a probable and necessary consequence, the substitution in the chorus of a different class of actors for the Satyrs. Traces of such innovations are already perceptible at Sicyon, in the transfer, as above mentioned, by Epigenes, of the honours of the tragic chorus from Bacchus to Adrastus.[3] The first step in the transition from exarchon

[1] Poetic. IV.; conf. nott. Gräf. ad loc.; Diog. Laert. III. i. 34. Tauchn.

[2] Conf. Rhetor. III. i., Poetic. IV.; Cic. Orat. ed. Tauchn. p. 399. sqq.

[3] Herodot. v. lxvii.; Suid. v. Θέσπις; Suid. Phot. et Apostol. v. οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον; Chamæl. ap. Apostol. ibid.; Gaisf. Parœmiogr. Gr. p. 153. Bacchidas, an antient poet of uncertain date (ap. Athen. XIV. p. 629.), boasts of having instituted "a chorus of men" for the Sicyonians; and Themistius, on these grounds, claims, in opposition to Aristotle, the first invention of "tragedy" for that people. (Orat. XXVII.;

to actor was the extension of the functions of the former from those of chief chorister to those of recitative poet, narrating the actions, rather than singing the praises, of the god or hero celebrated. Another step in advance would be to dramatise the main action by making the actor assume the person of the leading hero, and possibly, in succession, of one or more participators in his adventures; the histrionic effect being maintained by dialogue, from time to time, between the actor himself and the chorus. Such is the state to which the dithyrambic tragedy, when transferred to Attica, appears to have been brought by Thespis (535 B.C.), and in which it was delivered over by him to Æschylus and Phrynichus. In their hands the dramatic acquired that complete ascendant over the lyric element of the performance, which was maintained or extended in every subsequent stage of its progress.

Later Attic dithyramb.

Not long after the extension given to the dramatic element of the Corinthian dithyramb in the Attic Dionysiaca, an important modification of its lyric element was effected (503 B. C.) by Lasus of Hermione[1], Pindar's master in the art of music. By Lasus, as by Thespis, a chorus of men was substituted for Arion's chorus of Satyrs; and the subjects of celebration were extended from the adventures of Bacchus to those of other mythological personages. Greater variety, with a higher degree of refinement, was also imparted to the melic style of the performance, both in respect to rhythm and melody; a

conf. Herm. ad Aristot. Poet. III.) Others claim a similar precedence for them in respect to comedy. (Onestes ap. Brunck. Anal. vol. II. p. 289.)

[1] Suid. v. Λάσος; Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1403.; Clem. Alex. Str. I. p. 308.; Plut. de Mus. XXIX.; conf. Smith, Diction. of Biogr. Art. Lasus.

variety which, in the subsequent vicissitudes of the "Attic dithyramb," as that of Lasus was familiarly called, degenerated into a license reprehended by the best native critics as a complete subversion of the fundamental principles of the pure Hellenic music.[1] The old Cyclian chorus of Arion appears, in the course of these vicissitudes, after the innovations of Thespis and Lasus, to have forfeited its separate existence, and to have been entirely merged in its more dignified or more elegant offspring. No trace, at least, appears of Satyric performance, in the strict sense of the term, in the cultivated dithyrambic chorus of the Attic, or of any subsequent period.

Lyric tragedy.

Even after the final transformation of the dithyrambic into the Attic "Tragedy," and the appropriation by the latter of the antient common title in familiar usage, certain dithyrambic varieties of lyric composition continued, at least in local practice, to bear the title of Tragic chorus, or even of Tragœdia, in the pristine Dionysiac sense. The tragic choruses or tragic dramas of Pindar, Simonides, and other contemporary poets of the early Attic period, though sometimes classed by antient bibliographers under a separate head, were evidently mere varieties of the Attic dithyramb.[2] Similar, doubtless, in great part, were the tragic choruses, which continued to be performed in the Orchomenian festivity of the Charitesia up to a late period of the Roman empire.[3]

[1] Plut. de Mus. xxx. sqq.; Dion. Hal. de Comp. v. xix.; Aristoph. et Callim. ap. Suid. v. κύκλιοί τε χοροί.

[2] Suid. vv. Πίνδ. et Σιμωνίδης; Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 1402.; Aristoph. ap. Athen. xii. p. 551.; conf. Welck. Nachtr. zur Trilog. p. 243. sqq. Boeckh (Frag. Pind. p. 555. sqq.) has, however, without sufficient reason it is apprehended, ranged them under the head of Hyporchems.

[3] Boeckh. Staatshaush. Ath. vol. ii. p. 362.; conf. Corp. Inscr. Gr. vol. i. p. 765. sqq.; Welck. op. sup. cit.

There may thus be distinguished three stages or epochs of the cultivated dithyrambic ode or chorus: first, the primitive Song of Bacchus, or Dionysiac Pæan; secondly, the Satyric dithyramb of Arion; thirdly, the Dithyramb of Lasus, also called the Attic Dithyramb, under its numerous modifications or corruptions, any further remarks on which belong to a future stage of this history.

LYRIC COMEDY.

Lyric comedy.

10. A small share of attention must still be devoted to that other inferior order of Dionysiac ritual, which, while scarcely ever assuming the rank of a cultivated style of lyric art, possesses importance, as standing to the classical comedy of Attica in the same relation as the dithyramb of Arion to her tragedy. Certain varieties of this branch of entertainment have already been noticed as embodied by Arion in the mimic department of his ceremonial. The one which seems to have enjoyed the most general popularity as a public and authorised rite was that entitled Phallica, to which, accordingly, Aristotle traces the origin of the regular comedy, as he does that of tragedy to the Cyclian chorus of Arion. The Phallica was but an inferior style of dithyrambic tragœdia, or goat-song, in the pristine sense of the term, with mimic dance and Satyric chorus. The Dorians advanced an equal claim to priority of invention in regard to this as to the higher department of dramatic art, and apparently on equally valid grounds. Besides the general argument based on their partiality for mimic representation, appeal was made by them to the popular etymology of the term Comœdia, "song of the village

or Comë." Such diversions, it was urged [1], were limited, in their origin, to the rustic population. Hence, as Comë was the proper Doric term for village or rural district among the Dorians (Demus being that used in Attica), the phrase Comœdia, and by consequence the thing it signified, must, it was argued, be assigned a Doric origin. It seems, however, very doubtful whether the god Comus, presiding, as he certainly did, over an extensive range of popular festivity, may not have a stronger claim on the first portion of the word, than any of the localities where the comœdia was celebrated. A better argument on the Dorian side is the fact that Susarion [2], author of the first decided step towards the regular Attic comedy, was a native of the Dorian town of Megara, settled at Icaria in Attica. Megara was from an early period distinguished for a species of low comedy, or farce, the taste for which was imported by Susarion into the Attic demus above mentioned, itself a principal seat of the Athenian Dionysiaca, where he obtained for himself and for his mimes a permanent domicile. As he preceded Thespis by about forty years, the origin of the cultivated comedy of Athens must be held to have anticipated that of her tragedy. Both having been produced in Icaria, it were unreasonable to doubt the influence of the one upon the other, or, by consequence, that the improvement of the Megarian comœdia by Susarion gave the initiative to that of the Corinthian tragœdia by Thespis.

"Satyr," or Satyric drama.

To Pratinas, another Dorian musician of the age of Æschylus and Sophocles, belongs the credit of

1 Ap. Aristot. Poet. III. (Gräf.)

2 Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 308.; Bekk. Anecd. Gr. p. 748.; conf. Bentl. Opusc. p. 260. sqq.; Müll. Dor. vol. II. p. 350. sq.

having not long after introduced into Attica from his native city Phlius[1], also celebrated for its mimes, the remaining variety of the Athenian drama, under its previous local title of "Satyr," and at first with no substantial alteration of its originally grotesque character. For the refinement which entitled it to a place by the side of the regular tragedy and comedy on the Attic stage, it appears to have been indebted partly to Pratinas himself, partly, like the sister branches of Dorian art, to the great contemporary Attic masters.[2]

THRENUS. EPICEDIUM. SONG OF LINUS.

Threnus. Epicedia.

11. The term Threnus denotes, in its origin, any species of lamentation, more properly the dirge or lament for the death of kinsmen or dear friends. In later usage, the title became nearly equivalent to the more familiar one of Elegy. When sung over the corpse at its laying out or entombment, the threnus acquired the distinctive name of Epicedium, or funeral song.[3] The only two occasions on which the threnus is mentioned by Homer were of the latter description. The dirge chanted in the Iliad over the body of Hector is a most impressive solemnity. After a prelude by the bards or professional musicians, the near relatives, standing round the bier, offer in succession their tribute of sorrow for the fate, and eulogy of the virtues, of the departed hero; while the attendant female mourners respond at intervals by their groans and tears.

[1] Suid. v. Πρατ.; Pausan. II. xiii. 5.; Dioscorid. in Anthol. Pal. VII. ep. 37. 707.; conf. Müll. Dor. vol. II. p. 369.

[2] Dioscorid. locc. sup. citt.

[3] Procl. Chrest. p. 385. Gaisf.; Etym. M. v. θρῆνος; Tryph. ap. Ammon. v. ἐπικήδειον

Song of Linus.

There are few branches of lyric composition with stronger claims to early cultivation than the Threnus. Grief for the loss of the objects which chiefly render life valuable must be, in all ages, a fertile source of poetical inspiration. The origin of the threnus, accordingly, is traced back to the remote fabulous ages of Greek art. It is there identified in mythical legend with the name and fate of a primitive hero or demigod called Linus.[1] This mysterious personage appears in two capacities. In the one he is the emblem of that vanity and uncertainty of mundane existence from which the threnus derives its subjects of celebration; he is the type, more especially, of the ephemeral tenure of health, youth, or beauty, liable to be suddenly blighted or cut off by disease, decay, or death. Hence he is figured in the most elegant, if not the earliest, version of the fable as a beautiful boy, or youth under age, prematurely slain by the weapon of some invidious deity, usually Apollo the Destroyer, whose afflictive dispensations are figured as chiefly directed against such victims. It was natural that the personification of a branch of art should himself become a minstrel; and, in this second character, Linus is slain by Phœbus, from jealousy of his musical skill.[2] Hence, again, a third signification of the term, as denoting a popular song, celebrating the youthful bard, and which became the type or eponyme of this whole threnetic order of poetical composition. Several remnants of this plaintive Linus-song have been preserved.[3]

[1] Plut. de Mus. III.; conf. Welck. üb. den Linos, Kl. Schrift. vol. I. p. 8. sqq.

[2] Paus. IX. xxix. 3.; Philoch. ap. Eust. ad Il. XVIII. 570. p. 1163.

[3] Ap. Bergk. Poett. lyrr. Gr. p. 878. sq.; conf. infra, § 19.

It is remarkable that the "Song of Linus" was from an early period closely associated with agricultural life, as the popular chant of the wine-gathering and harvest-home. These, however, are proverbially distinguished in all countries as jovial, rather than mournful, solemnities. Accordingly, in Homer's description of the vintage festivity in the "Shield," the Song of Linus is alluded to, if not as itself a jocund song, as the accompaniment at least of a jocund ceremony.[1] The apparent anomaly finds its explanation in the figurative mythology of agricultural life among the Greeks and other nations of the Mediterranean; where the declining year, and consequent transition of the terrestrial fruits from maturity to decay, were brought into close and appropriate connexion with the corresponding vicissitudes of human existence. Hence the intimate union between the rites of Ceres and those of Pluto, between the mystical theology of the world above and that of the world below. The Song of Linus, the Genius of ephemeral existence, formed, therefore, a significant ceremony in those rustic festivities, which, in every country, are among the most antient, as being the most vitally associated with the existence of civilised society.[2] Hesiod seems, indeed, to describe the Lament of Linus as habitually sung at the opening and close of all banquets or festive rejoicings; possibly as a "memento mori" or warning against undue elation or

[1] Il. xviii. 570.

[2] Hence some authors interpret the death of Linus by the hand of Apollo as indicating the victory of the more elegant and rational taste for music and lyric song, preferred in the ceremonial of that god, over the more melancholy or impassioned, but ruder and often gloomy and barbarous, style of the Bacchic, Orphic, and other rites of the class to which the Song of Linus belonged. Müller, Dor. i. p. 346. sqq.

exuberance of joyous feeling.[1] It was natural that the character, both of the hero and of his song, in their more immediate connexion with rural life, should undergo some variation. Among the Argives, accordingly, Linus was not a professional minstrel, but a gentle shepherd boy, whose office it was to guard and nurse the tender lambs, and who was himself torn to pieces by wolves or raging dogs.[2]

The prevalence of substantially the same legend and rite in numerous other parts of the antient world, offers a striking example of a correspondence of religious ceremonial, spontaneously arising from a similar association of ideas, among different nations where no trace can be detected of a direct influence exercised by one upon the other. In almost every country on the shores of the Mediterranean, Greek speculative mythologers discovered a fable, a hero, and a song, which, according to the popular practice, they identified, and certainly with more than usual plausibility, with their own national song and hero Linus.[3]

The Threnus of Homer's bards, like other cultivated branches of composition in those early days, was probably in dactylic measure. With the advance of lyric art, a greater variety of metrical forms was admitted. The reputed author of the extension was the Phrygian Olympus, who first introduced into Greece a taste for wind instruments, the style of music best adapted to mournful or pathetic subjects. Several of the more remarkable compositions ascribed

[1] Frg. ccxiv. Marcksch.

[2] Conon, xix.; conf. Pausan. ii. xix. 7.

[3] Such are the Atys and Lityerses of the Phrygians, the Bormus of the Mariandynæ, the Hylas of the Mysians, the Adonis and Thammuz of the Semitic races, and the Maneros of the Egyptians. Müll. Dor. i. p. 347.; Welck. üb. den Linos, Kl. Schrift. vol. i. p. 9. sqq.

to him belonged to the sacred class of Threni. Such was the Lament, or Dirge[1], of the snake Pytho slain by Apollo, also called a nome. The nomes of this author are all, indeed, described as of a mournful tendency. That such was the case with his celebrated Epitymbian nomes[2] is indicated by their name, literally, Tomb-songs. It would appear, however, that these nomes were purely musical, or, in other words, instrumental, rather than vocal or poetical performances. Nor does the Threnus appear to have been a very popular branch of composition with the lyric poets of this early period. But few works are cited under that title prior to the age of Simonides, of whose Threni, as of those of his younger contemporary Pindar, several fine remains have been preserved[3], partly relating to mythical subjects, partly in honour of human personages.

CONVIVIAL POETRY (SYMPOSIACA). PARŒNIA. SCOLIA.

Convivial poetry.

12. In the earlier stages of Greek literature, almost every branch of poetical composition might be classed under the head of Convivial. The banquet formed part even of the most solemn religious offices; and, for this portion of the sacred ritual, lyric performances seem chiefly to have been reserved. In the Iliad, after the propitiatory sacrifice to Apollo, the Greeks spend the day in carousing and singing pæans in honour of the deity; and, throughout the poet's narrative, the sacred hymn or the epic song, recording the praises of the gods or the actions of heroes, is indispensable to the full enjoyment of all convivial festivity. Like the pæan of Apollo,

[1] Plut. de Mus. xv. [2] Pollux, iv. 78.
[3] Boeckh, Fragm. Pind. p. 619.; Bergk, Fragm. Simon. p. 759.

the dithyramb of Bacchus was, from the earliest period, habitually sung at the table, as appears from a passage of Archilochus containing the most antient extant allusion to a dithyrambic ode. The encomia or epinicia were also performed, by preference, at the feast in honour of the distinguished personage to whom they were dedicated. But in the subsequent refinements of lyric art these various orders of composition, as destined for more dignified occasions, or connected with a more definite range of subject, were ranked each under its own proper title. The term Convivial poetry, in the more limited sense, embraced but the lighter more fugitive style of composition, the object of which was to enliven the banquet in its purely social character.

Varieties of convivial song.

In the mode of providing for this enjoyment, the same variety and ingenuity are observable, as in every other department of cultivated Greek art. Convivial songs were classed by the antients under three[1] heads: first, those sung in chorus by the whole company; secondly, those sung by each guest in succession; thirdly, such as were also sung in succession, but under certain peculiarities of arrangement, and with a limitation in ordinary cases to the more gifted members of the company.

Pæans.

The songs of the first class appear to have been chiefly those inaugural odes familiarly called Pæans[2], sung as grace or proœmium to the whole entertainment, and usually addressed to Apollo, sometimes to Jove, Bacchus, Hermes, or such other deity as the occasion suggested. The next more varied order of

Paroenia.

[1] Dicæarch. ap. Suid. Hesych. et Phot. v. σκολιόν; Plut. Symposiac. I. i. 5.; Artemon ap. Athen. XV. p. 694.

[2] See above, p. 67. note 3.

symposiac performance in which all took part, though not all simultaneously, very much resembles our old national custom of laying each guest under an obligation to sing his song [1], whether his own composition or some popular ode of the day. On these occasions a lyre or myrtle branch [2], less frequently a drinking-cup [3], was handed round as a temporary badge of office from guest to guest, each, in his turn, receiving it from his predecessor, and passing it on to his neighbour at the close of his own part. The lyre was destined probably for those alone who, together with a musical voice, possessed skill in the use of the instrument. When these qualifications, one or both, were wanting, the myrtle branch was preferred, as the antient proper symbol of the more simple styles of poetical recitation.[4] The songs thus circulated bore no distinctive title but that of Parœnia (wine-songs), or Symposiaca (drinking-songs), common to all those of the convivial order.

Scolia, or Greek musical catches.

13. The third more complicated and more celebrated species of parœnia were those called Scolia. The performance was here reserved for the more scientific and experienced musicians of the party.[5]

[1] Plat. Sympos. p. 214. sqq. Occasionally prose was substituted for poetry, each guest telling a story, or offering a short essay on some pleasant topic. Plat. loc. cit.

[2] Aristoph. Nub. 1358., Schol. ad loc.; Vesp. 1214—1220., Schol. ad oc.; Plut. Sympos. i. i. 5.; Hesych. vv. μυρρίνης et τὴν ἐπιδεξίαν; Cic. Tusc. i. ii.

[3] Athen. xi. p. 503.

[4] Apostolius et Hesych. v. ᾄδειν πρὸς μυρρ. In Aristoph. Nub. 1356. sqq. the lyre is offered to Phidippides, when it is proposed that he shall sing an ode of Simonides, a melic poet. The myrtle branch is substituted when it is proposed that he shall recite a passage of Æschylus or Euripides.

[5] Artem. ap. Athen. xv. p. 694.; Dicæarch. ap. Phot. et Suid. v. σκολιόν; conf. Hesych. v. σκολ.; Schol. ad Aristoph. Vesp. 1214. 1220.; Plut. Symp.

The chief of the qualified guests led off with a short stave or sonnet, whether an entire ode or a part of some longer composition, marked in either case by some lively spirit or point. He then handed the symbol of office to the person who it had been arranged should follow, or whom he thought fit to select as his successor, who passed it on, in his turn, to a third, and so forth; each being expected at once to carry on the strain, whether in the way of continuation or repartee, in the same or a closely congenial style of subject or measure. It may be presumed, that, at least in the origin of the custom, these sallies were understood in courtesy to be, and frequently were, either impromptus, or pieces prepared by each performer for the occasion. But no such rule seems to have been enforced in practice, each guest being at liberty, if not ready with an appropriate contribution of his own, to select one from the stores of some favourite author. As numerous such forms, adapted to an equal variety of occasions, obtained popularity in the more advanced stages of convivial literature, the process of linking or "capping" the successive epigrams or stanzas on each other would be greatly facilitated: and where any number of them became more peculiarly connected in subject or measure with each other, as could hardly fail to result from the very spirit of the practice, their combination into a single longer ode or "canzone," consisting of a corresponding number of strophes or stanzas, as naturally followed. Such was, for example, the celebrated scolion, or series of scolia, addressed to Harmodius and Aristogiton. These

l. i.; Eustath. ad Od. VII. 125. p. 1574.; conf. De la Nauze, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. vol. IX. p. 324. sqq.: Ilgen, Scolia sive Carm. Conviv. Græc.

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four beautiful stanzas, while sufficiently connected in subject to form a continuous ode, as published in the modern collections, are yet capable of being transposed without any sacrifice of their bond of continuity, in such a manner as to imply, apart from other evidence, the originally independant integrity of each.

The precise nature of the connexion, in subject, style, or numbers, requisite to constitute any such series of poetical sallies a scolion or round of scolia, as distinct from the ordinary parœnia, or wine-songs, is nowhere clearly defined. Nor, probably, were the regulations on the subject of a very definite nature. Much might depend on the previous understanding of the party. In the more rigid form of the entertainment a certain continuity both of subject and measure might be required. But, as in a numerous company the series could hardly be prolonged to any considerable extent consistently with a strict observance of any such rule, some relaxation of it would be necessary. The number of responses to which the correspondence was, in the first instance, required to extend might be limited, and, when brought to a close, give place to a new series. In some cases an entire change, both of subject and measure, might be allowable ; in others, the abruptness of the transition might be softened by a continuance of the same measure with a change of subject, or by the introduction of a new measure, the subject remaining the same. A prolonged series of scolia, without some such opening for variety, could hardly fail to become monotonous. Another bond of connexion was supplied by innuendos or ambiguous allusions, satirical or complimentary, to the character

or circumstances of the individual performers.[1] In such cases the principle of contrast would often be preferable, in point of effect, to that of conformity. The scolion of the Crab and Snake[2], for example, cited by Athenæus, where the shell-fish counsels the reptile to mend its crooked gait, would, without reference to any previous train of subject, have formed a very happy repartee to a moral sentiment uttered by a predecessor not himself remarkable for acting up to his own precepts. Almost any phrase or allusion contained in a foregoing scolion might thus, under incidental circumstances, supply a catchword to the next. Such, for instance, was the obvious, probably hackneyed, introduction which the presentation of the myrtle branch of office afforded to the scolion of Harmodius:

ἐν μύρτου κλαδὶ τὸ ξίφος φορήσω, . . .
"In a myrtle branch my sword I'll bear." . . .

The above speculations, which naturally offer themselves in illustration of the nature of this entertainment, seem all more or less borne out by the only two passages of antiquity in which it is distinctly exemplified: the one in the latter part of the Wasps of Aristophanes[3]; the other in the concluding dialogue of the Deipnosophistæ of Athenæus.[4] The former passage contains five or six scolia. The burlesque irregularity, however, of the mode in which the game is here carried on renders it the less easy to recognise

[1] Eustath. ad Od. VII. 125. p. 1574.
[2] Ilgen, Scol. IX. p. 36.; Bergk. Poett. lyrr. p. 874.
[3] 1222. sqq.
[4] XV. p. 694. sqq.; conf. Eustath. ad Od. 125. p. 1574.

either the metrical forms of the stanzas, or the exact nature of their interconnexion, further than that it is maintained in a great degree by humorous allusions to the action of the drama. In the banquet of Athenæus, where upwards of twenty scolia occur in successive order, it seems doubtful whether it be the compiler's intention to afford a complete representation of the old mode of carrying on the game, or merely to accumulate, in the way of specimen, some of the more favourite Attic sets of scolia. In either case the compilation pointedly illustrates the views above expressed as to the general spirit and method of the performance. Although no uninterrupted bond of continuity can be traced throughout the series, the connexion between contiguous members of it, extending often through five or six in succession, is sufficiently palpable.[1] The first five are invocations of popular Attic divinities, Pallas, Ceres, Proserpine, Apollo, Diana, Pan, and Pandrosus; and the fourth and fifth are further united, both by a punning connexion of the names of the deities celebrated, and by a common allusion to the glories of the Persian war.[2] The five form, therefore, in themselves a complete and well-rounded series, as regards their sense; and

[1] The numbers are here given as in the original text of Athenæus (ed. Tauchn. vol. IV. p. 153. sqq.). The whole set of scolia is to be found in the collections of Schneidewin (Delect. Poes. Gr. pt. III. p. 456.) and of Bergk (Poett. lyrr. p. 871.); but the members of the series have, by those compilers, been transposed or intermingled with other fragmentary remains of similar character.

[2] Pan and Pandrosus were popular deities of victory among the Athenians, in immediate connexion with the events of that war.. (Herod. VI. cv.; Simonid. ap. Bergk. Poett. lyrr. p. 785.; conf. Ilgen, p. 15. sqq. 22.) No. 4. seems to be a paraphrase of, or extract from, a strophe of Pindar. (Boeckh. Fragm. Pind. p. 592.; conf. Ilgen, op. cit. p. 12.)

in the first four the measure also corresponds. The alteration of the rhythm in the last seems also intentional, in order to constitute it, in the spirit of the game, a species of epode to the series. Then follows a set of terse moral maxims, in four stanzas (6—9.). The favourite series of Harmodius and Aristogiton comes next. It consists of five stanzas (10—14.), inclusive again of a sort of epode in a different rhythm, forming both an appropriate commentary on the previous text, and a transition from the praises of the two patriots to those of another popular Attic hero, Ajax, celebrated, with his father Telamon, in stanzas 15. and 16. In these two stanzas another new and somewhat rare measure is introduced, and followed up with a change of subject in stanzas 17. and 18. No relation, either as to measure or subject, can be recognised between the next two stanzas, 19. 20., and the previous or subsequent portions of the series.[1] But in the ensuing five stanzas the interconnexion is renewed, and pointedly maintained in a succession of significant repartees, or punning mutual allusions.[2] The two Cretan scolia

[1] Unless, indeed, we assume a punning alliteration between *βάλῃ* in 20. and *βάλανον βαλανεύς* in the following stanzas; as the text of Athenæus, p. 699 A. B., may seem to imply.

[2] These five scolia, 21—25., presenting a variety of metres and styles, grave and gay, coarse and elegant, are here subjoined, for the better illustration both of their own interconnexion and of the spirit of the game:

21. *ἀ ὗς τὰν βάλανον τὰν μὲν ἔχει τὰν δ' ἔραται λαβεῖν,*
κἀγὼ παῖδα καλὴν τὴν μὲν ἔχω τὴν δ' ἔραμαι λαβεῖν.

22. *πόρνη καὶ βαλανεὺς τωὐτὸν ἔχουσ' ἐμπεδέως ἦθος·*
ἐν ταὐτᾷ πυέλῳ τόν τ' ἀγαθὸν τόν τε κακὸν λοεῖν.

23. *ἔγχει δὴ Κήϊωνι, διάκονε, μηδ' ἐπιλήθου,*
εἰ χρὴ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν οἰνοχοεῖν.

(26, 27.) [1], which close the series, while not apparently connected in any way with their predecessors, are intimately so with each other.

Their poetical characteristics.

14. Among the varieties of measure and style admitted in these compositions, and which do not seem to have been subjected to any definite limitation, a general preference is given to the melic strophe. The properties by which the individual scolia are distinguished from other lyric stanzas or strophes of the same class are, an epigrammatic terseness of expression, compactness and vivacity of numbers, and, as a general rule, brevity; features all specially conducive, or even essential, to the spirit of the game. Among the preserved scolia are many of the more popular current in the best ages of Greece.

24. αἰ αἰ! Λειψύδριον προδωσέταιρον·
οἵους ἄνδρας ἀπώλεσας, μάχεσθαι
ἀγαθούς τε, καὶ εὐπατρίδας,
οἳ τότ' ἔδειξαν οἵων πατέρων ἔσαν.

25. ὅστις ἄνδρα φίλον μὴ προδίδωσιν, μεγάλην ἴσχει
τιμὰν, ἔν τε βροτοῖς ἔν τε θεοῖσιν κατ' ἐμὸν νόον.

In the first two couplets, besides the play of words between βάλανος (*glans* and *glans penis*) and βαλανεύς, the satirical allusion to the second line of No. 21., by the introduction of the πόρνη in No. 22., is obvious. The ἐν ταὐτῷ πυέλῳ, &c., is an equally palpable taunt at the indelicate juxtaposition of the swinish and the amorous varieties of sensual appetite in the first couplet (πύελος signifies both trough and bath). Nos. 22. and 23. are connected by the alliteration between τόνδ' ἀγαθόν and τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν; also by the antithesis between the pouring or mixing of the wine in the latter, and of the water in the former, couplet. The same series of allusion is carried on, not only by the ἄνδρας ἀγαθούς of No. 24., but by the punning apostrophe to the war of the Lipsydrium, or "waterless;" which name, with its epithet προδωσέταιρον, may also hint at an unfair proportion of wine to water infused by the οἰνοχόος of No. 23. in the cup handed to the poet of No. 24., and to the consequent effect on the head of the latter. No. 25. winds up the set by a moral commentary, in somewhat more serious mood, on the same epithet προδωσέταιρον of No. 24.

[1] Incorrectly written as one in the editions of Athenæus.

Some of these are, also, as may be supposed, among the most brilliant specimens which have been transmitted of Greek epigrammatic or didactic poetry, and are constantly quoted and commented as such by the leading critics and moralists of every period.[1] Even where the sense itself is not remarkable for point or spirit, the structure and rhythm are usually distinguished by a certain combination of emphasis with harmony, and by an alternate rapidity in the flow and abruptness in the termination of the rhythmical clauses, peculiar to these compositions, and singularly conducive to that mixture of elegance and pungency which it was clearly the object of their authors to impart to them. This joint precision and harmony of effect has been occasionally enhanced by the aid of rhyme. It was remarked in a previous chapter, that although rhyme, in the modern sense, was never distinctly recognised as an element of rhythmical harmony in classical poetry, yet the Greek ear was not insensible to the value of homophone terminations in contiguous verses or metrical systems. Of the employment of this expedient, accordingly, several of the extant scolia supply, whether intuitively or intentionally on the part of their authors, examples of a very marked description. As an illustration are subjoined two consecutive scolia, of mixed choriambic and dactylic measure, from the collection of Athenæus:

εἴθε λύρα καλὴ γενοί|μην ἐλεφαντίνη,
καί με καλοὶ παῖδες φεροῖ|εν Διονύσιον ἐς χορόν.
εἴθ' ἄπυρον καλὸν γενοί|μην μέγα χρυσίον,
καί με καλὴ γυνὴ φοροί|η καθαρὸν θεμένη νόον.

[1] Those more especially of Harmodius, Telamon, and that of Simonides to Hygea.

O that I were the sweet-toned lyre, of burnished ivory bright,
Which beautiful boys, in the festive quire, attune to the Dionysiac rite!

O that I were the golden vase, so pure, and of form so fair,
Which beautiful dames, at the festive games, in their arms to the sacred altar bear!

The rhyming cadences are chiefly in the central cæsure of each verse. They extend, however, whether in the mode of pure rhyme, alliteration, or repetition, for all these definitions are here perhaps applicable, not only to the endings, but, indeed, over every part of the text. They are, in fact, accumulated to an excess which might be considered licentious even in modern poetry. Here, however, partly owing to the absence of that equable formality of recurrence, which is the characteristic of modern rhyme, partly to the general liveliness and emphatic spirit of the rhythm, the result is certainly a great addition both to the poetical and the epigrammatic effect of the couplets.[1]

The name Scolion, literally oblique or crooked, finds its natural interpretation partly in the enigmatical obliquity or ambiguity of sentiment in the succession of scolia, partly in the indirect or zigzag manner in which the song passed from one guest to another[2]; the lyre or myrtle branch being transmitted at pleasure by the previous performer to whomsoever he might select, instead of following its

[1] The same characteristics are observable, in more or less marked forms, in other parts of the collection; as, for example, in the two scolia of Telamon, and several of those of Harmodius, where the neighbouring stanzas are often in words, as well as in spirit or allusion, a sort of echo or response to each other, with a tendency to alliteration similar to that above illustrated.

[2] Auctt. sup. citt. in p. 100. note 5. Hence Aristophanes (Acharn. 532.) satirises the legal enactments of Pericles as ὥσπερ σκολιὰ γεγραμμένους; viz. quaint, enigmatical, mystified.

regular course round the table, as customary in ordinary parœnia. The phrase is, in fact, in so far the converse of our own familiar expression of the song going round.

Pindar's assignment of the invention of the scolion to Terpander [1] may perhaps be more deserving of a literal interpretation than most other similar notices. The refined and artificial nature of the entertainment renders it more probable that it should have been devised by some ingenious musical professor at a comparatively advanced stage of art, than spontaneously suggested by early national taste. The practice, while popular every where, seems to have been more especially so in Athens, as might have been expected, from the scope it offered for the display of wit and smart repartee, and for inculcating moral and political maxims in a lively and familiar form. In later times, accordingly, it appears to have ranked as a peculiarly Attic entertainment. As such Athenæus characterises it when introducing his collection of scolia, the greater part of which are devoted to Attic subjects. The series of "Harmodius" is ascribed in whole or in part to Callistratus, an Athenian [2]; two others to

[1] The opinion of several modern commentators (Ulrici, Gesch. der Hell. Dichtk. vol. II. p. 382.; Bode, Gesch. der Hell. Dichtk. vol. II. pt. ii. p. 457.; conf. Müll. Hist. of Gr. Lit. p. 188.), that Terpander is here indicated merely as the originator of some peculiar style of melody called "scolia" or "oblique," appropriated to this entertainment, while founded on incidental passages of writers of no authority, and opposed to the view of the best antient critics, is not in itself very probable, nor indeed very intelligible. It is difficult to understand how, consistently with the principles of Greek art or taste, any such single style could have been adapted to a rapid succession of fugitive compositions of from two to six verses each, offering as great a variety of measure as of subject, sentiment, and allusion, from the licentious pasquinade or burlesque epigram to the gravest maxims of morality or religion.

[2] Ilgen, p. 60.

Praxilla of Sicyon [1]; a third to Simonides [2]; and the last two in the collection of Athenæus to Hybrias of Crete.[3] Stesichorus [4], Sappho, Alcæus [5], and Anacreon are also cited among the authors of popular scolia.[6]

From what has been said, it appears that the name Scolion applied rather to the mode in which these pieces of poetry were introduced, than to any well defined peculiarity of their matter or style. Many, therefore, of the smart sententious sallies now extant in the lyric anthologies, or in the fragmentary remains of what are called the minor Greek poets, might have been, and very possibly were, occasionally adapted to this purpose. Without, however, some distinct evidence that they were so adapted, they cannot with propriety be ranked under the head of Scolia. This privilege must be reserved for such alone as are so quoted under the title by classical authorities. The whole number of this better authenticated class which has been transmitted amounts to from thirty to forty. In the modern collections, however, the list has been swelled to upwards of fifty, by culling passages here and there from the stores of the popular anthologies, upon no consistent principle of critical selection.[7]

[1] Schol. Aristoph. Thesm. 528., Vesp. 1242.; conf. Athen. xv. p. 694.

[2] Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 1358., Vesp. 1214. sqq.

[3] Athen. xv. p. 696.; Eust. ad Od. vii. 125.

[4] Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 1214. sqq. [5] Aristot. Polit. iii. 10.

[6] Aristoph. ap. Athen. xv. p. 693. sq.; conf. Bergk. Poett. lyrr. p. 818. sq.

[7] Ilgen, Scolia; De la Nauze, Mém. Acad. Inscr. It does not appear on what ground the so-called scolia of Pindar have been comprehended by Athenæus and Suidas under this head of composition. They are odes of considerable length, arranged in antistrophic form, similar to that of his other choral compositions; nor is it easy to see how they could have been applied to the same purpose as the scolia above illustrated. They were, however, more or less of a convivial tendency; and it seems to have been customary, in later times, to

ENCOMIA. EPINICIA. COMUS.

Encomia. Epinicia. Comus.

15. The term Encomium denotes originally the ode sung at the Comus. This latter title, in the wider sense, comprehended every convivial meeting accompanied by dance, song, and Bacchanalian festivity; in its more dignified application it denoted a higher order of festive entertainment. Such were the public banquets held in honour of distinguished personages, of a warrior after a victory or successful campaign, of a magistrate on entering office; and, in later habitual practice, of the conquerors in the Olympian, Pythian, and other great national games. In every variety of the comus, a main part of the ceremony was performed in the open air; it being customary, even for private bands of revellers, when flushed with the pleasures of the table, to sally forth with music, song, and dance, sometimes to the sound of the trumpet[1], into the streets and public thoroughfares.[2] The term thus became more peculiarly appropriated to this latter part of the entertainment, which in its turn assumed the character of a distinct ceremony. Such were the escort home, or serenade[3] to a mistress, or, after a banquet, to some favourite guest; such, in a nobler sense, the triumphal procession of the victorious hero or chief to the temple or the banqueting-hall;

comprehend in familiar usage all the more spirited or popular odes of such tendency under the general denomination of Scolia. These remarks also apply more or less to Aristotle's ode to Virtue, commonly called a pæan, but which Athenæus also characterises as a scolion. Boeckh. Fragm. Pind. p. 555., conf. 607. sqq.; Athen. xv. p. 696.

[1] Aristot. de Audib. xlix.

[2] Hesiod, Shield of Herc. 281.; Aristoph. Plut. 1040., Thesmophor. 104.; Plat. Sympos. p. 212. 223.; Xenoph. Sympos. ii. i.

[3] Hermesianax, vv. 38. 47., ap. Athen. xiii. p. 598.; conf. Ilgen. Scolia, p. ccxiii. sqq.

such, by a still wider extension of the analogy, the deputation or mission which escorted the victor in the national games back to his native city.

The title Encomium, or song of the comus, is limited in its classical acceptation, as denoting an order of lyric poetry, solely or chiefly to the panegyrical odes performed in the comi of a more dignified character.[1] It is hence defined by the antients as bearing the same relation to the praises of men as the hymn to those of the deity.[2] No work of this class, prior to the age Pindar, has been preserved; but the style of composition could hardly fail to be cultivated from an early epoch, as one of the most obvious and natural applications of lyric art. The ode composed by Polymnestus for the Spartans in honour of Terpander, and that by Alcman in honour of Polymnestus, may be ranked under the head of Encomia. The leading poets of the immediately succeeding period left large collections of encomia, of which the most celebrated were those addressed to the victors in the national games. These are usually ranged under a separate head of Epinicia[3], or triumphal encomia. No such distinction, however, seems to have been recognised by their authors. Pindar, in his frequent appeals to his own epinician odes, avails himself more frequently of the phrase Encomia, and other cognate derivatives of comus, than of their proper title.[4] The simple term Comus is also used by him in a similar sense, the occasion on which the

[1] Hence τὰ ἐπινίκια κωμῳδός in the Orchomenian inscriptions, ap. Boeckh. Staatsh. II. p. 364.; conf. Corp. Inscr. Gr. vol. I. p. 764. sqq.

[2] Ammon. v. ὕμνος; Plato de Rep. p. 607 A.

[3] Procl. Chrestom. p. 384. Gaisf.

[4] Conf. Boeckh. Fragm. Pind. p. 555.; Ulrici, Gesch. der Hell. Dichtk. vol. II. p. 532. sqq.

encomium was performed for the performance itself. The same train of terminology was extended to the different parts of the composition. Procomium and Epicomium denote the prologue and epilogue, the exordium and winding up of the encomial hymn, or of the solemnity in which it was introduced.

The character of these odes depended in some degree on that of the festivity which they adorned. The crowning of the victors, the religious rites in honour of their triumph, the procession to or from the temple or the banqueting-hall, the banquet itself, were all so many comi, or occasions of epinician song. Each variety of celebration involved a corresponding variety of style, traces of which are observable in the collection of Pindar. The encomia, however, composed in honour of individual victors could, it is obvious, rarely if ever be prepared for the actual occasions of their triumph. For the more immediate celebration of the achievement, there existed certain standard odes[1]; hymns or pæans, it would appear, rather than encomia; combining an address of gratitude to the presiding gods, with praises of the victorious competitor. The encomia proper were usually, if not invariably, transmitted subsequently, often long after, by the poet[2], and performed in the festivities instituted in honour of the achievement in the native locality of the conqueror. The anniversary of more distinguished successes seems also in some instances to have been kept by a revival of old, or the composition of new, encomial odes, in honour of each recurring occasion. High prices were paid to the more popular lyric

[1] Pind. Ol. IX. init., conf. Schol. ad loc.; Liebel ad Archiloch. frg. 77.
[2] Ol. XI. init.; Pyth. II. 125.; Nem. III. 140. Schol. Pyth. II. 6.

poets for their services. Pindar himself[1] frequently alludes to the venality of his muse; which his commentators stigmatise by the harsh epithets of mercenary and avaricious.[2]

The epinician ode, judging from the extant collection of Pindar, the standard models of this style, was sometimes monostrophic, a single form of strophe being continued from beginning to end; sometimes antistrophic, consisting of two strophes and an epode, recurring in the same order throughout. As a general rule, the Dorian rhythm was preferred, although frequently varied, to suit the character of the subject, into the Æolian or Lydian. In his longer compositions, Pindar at times imparts to his text something of an epic character, by the introduction of mythical legends connected with the victor's birthplace or lineage, or with the scene of his triumph. The style of such encomia as were not of a strictly epinician character appears to have been similar. No entire poem has been transmitted under the title of Encomium; but several odes included in Pindar's collection under the common head of Epinicia belong, properly speaking, to the purely encomial order of composition.

EROTICA. GAMELIA, OR BRIDAL SONGS.

Erotica.

16. The universal prevalence and popularity of the class of poems which fall under the general head of Erotica, or love songs, render superfluous any detailed notice of their object or character. The most celebrated authors in this department, during the present period, are: Alcman, of the Dorian school;

[1] Pyth. II. 125., XI. 62.; Isthm. II. 10.

[2] Schol. ad Nem. VII. 25.; Isthm. V. 2.

Sappho and Alcæus, of the Æolian or Lesbian; and Mimnermus, of the Ionian school. The erotic odes of the three former poets are almost exclusively of the purely melic order, and in monostrophic forms. Mimnermus composed solely or chiefly in elegiac measure. Such effusions, though called forth by human objects of adoration alone, occasionally in so far partake of a sacred character as to assume the form of addresses to the deities whose countenance and favour were invoked. Such, for example, is the most brilliant of all love songs, the Invocation of Venus by Sappho.

Hymenæa. Epithalamia.

Gamelia, or bridal songs, are classed under two heads: first, those called Hymenæa, sung at the marriage festival; secondly, the Epithalamia, or bed-chamber songs, performed on the night of the ceremony, as a serenade or vigil, in front of the door or below the window of the newly wedded couple. The epithalamia are again subdivided into the Lulling song and the Waking song.[1] The former was sung during the early part of the night, the latter towards the hour of rising. The hymenæal chorus is described by Homer in the Shield of Achilles.[2] The bride is there led, amid the blaze of torches, the music of harps and flutes, and the frolicsome dance and song of youths and maidens, from her own chamber to that of her husband. The invocations or exclamations uttered during this more jovial portion of the ceremony, whether forming part of the processional ode, or thrown out at random by the crew

[1] Schol. ad Theocrit. Idyll. XVIII.; conf. Ammon. de Differ. v. γαμήλιος; Procl. Chrest. p. 385. Gaisf.

[2] Il. XVIII. 490. sqq.; conf. Hesiod. Scut. Herc. 273. sqq.

of attendants, seem, from extant examples, to have been not always of the most delicate description.[1]

These songs, as may be supposed, formed from a very early period a popular branch of lyric composition, whether in honour of hero or heroine, living or dead, real or imaginary. The earliest-mentioned example is Hesiod's Epithalamium of Peleus and Thetis. Alcman[2] also availed himself of this, among other modes of honouring the sex which formed the favourite subject of his muse; and Sappho left an entire book of hymenæa[3], several of which, as will be seen hereafter, seem to have partaken of the dramatic character. In the metre of these compositions no definite rule is observable. Hesiod, it need scarcely be remarked, uses the hexameter. Sappho occasionally employs the same measure, in addition to her own favourite combinations of more purely melic rhythm. The hexameter is also preferred by Theocritus. The invocations, "O Hymen! O Hymenæus!" addressed to the patron deity of the rite, were habitually introduced, as a sort of burden or epode, in all these varieties of metrical arrangement.[4]

MILITARY MUSIC. EMBATERIA.

Military music.

17. Two kinds of military music may be distinguished: the first comprising every species of ode or song adapted, on ordinary festive occasions, to inspire or maintain warlike enthusiasm; the second may be defined as war music in the narrower sense, marches, charges (embateria, enoplia). In Homer

[1] Boeckh, Explic. Pind. Pyth. III. p. 257.

[2] Welck. Præf. ad Fragm. p. 3.

[3] Sapph. frg. XXXVI. sqq. Gaisf.

[4] Allusion occurs in later times to a "dithyrambic hymenæum," or hymenæal dithyrambus. Athen. XIV. p. 637.

mention is made of the first kind alone. The celebration of the exploits and heroes of the olden time is described as a favourite recreation of his warriors. The triumphal pæan is also sung by the army in chorus, on their march back to the camp after a victory. But nowhere does the poet allude to the advance or conflict of troops as directed by any other species of sound than the shout of war; and even that, among his own countrymen, was restrained until the combat had actually begun. Their advance is characterised as terrible from its very silence.

From the earliest epoch, however, at which trace exists of any scientific cultivation of the lyric art, there is sufficient proof that neither of the above departments of martial poetry was overlooked.

War songs.

To the first of the two belong the elegiac odes of Callinus, which claim to be the earliest extant productions of the Lyric Muse. The elegies of Tyrtæus, a younger contemporary of Callinus, were also for the most part of the martial order. They were sung, consistently with Spartan usage, at the meals of the soldiers, after the ordinary convivial pæan, sometimes in chorus, sometimes by single performers in competition, the victor receiving as his prize from the polemarch an extra ration of butcher meat.[1] They were also chanted in chorus before the tent door of the king or commander in chief.[2]

Embateria, or marches.

The military music of the second kind was little cultivated, even in historical times, except among the Spartans. Their pæan embaterius, a hymn invoking the god of war or other patron deities, commenced

[1] Philoch. ap. Athen. XIV. p. 630.

[2] Lycurg. Orat. contr. Leocr. XXVIII.

immediately after the order to advance, and continued during the charge and assault. The air was called the Castorean Melody[1], after the Tyndarid Castor, one of the popular martial demigods of Sparta, and was accompanied by wind instruments disposed in different parts of the line. Its character was impressive, rather than wild or turbulent; the object being, in unison with the genius of Spartan warfare, to inspire steady determination, rather than furious ardour for the attack. The measure preferred was the anapæstic, as the most natural march time, and peculiarly expressive in its cadence of stern energetic resolution.

The custom of attacking in regular march step, to the sound of music, is frequently noticed by the antients as a peculiarity of Spartan discipline[2]; nor is there any allusion to the same practice in any other Greek state, with the partial exception of the kindred Dorian republics of Crete.[3] Battle pæans were also sung by the troops of Athens, and of other members of the confederacy, before the charge, or during its progress[4]: the performance, however, of these odes does not seem to have been combined with an instrumental accompaniment, nor, consequently, to have stood in similarly close connexion with the discipline or movements of the line. In Attic warfare the instrumental music, if any, seems to have been limited

[1] Plut. in Lycurg. xxii., de Mus. xxvi.; Pind. Isth. i. 21.; Schol. Pind. Pyth. ii. 127. sqq.; conf. Müll. Dor. vol. ii. p. 333. sqq.; Boeckh de Metr. Pind. p. 276.

[2] Thucyd. v. lxx.; Polyb. iv. xx.; Athen. xiv. p. 626. 630 f.; Plut. de Mus. xxvi.; Lucian. de Salt. x.; Cic. Tusc. ii. 15.; Dio Chrys. Orat. xxxii. vol. ii. p. 379. Reisk.; Valer. Max. ii. vi. 2.

[3] Heracl. Polit. iii.; Athen. xii. 517 a., xiv. 627.; Plut. de Mus. xxvi.

[4] Thucyd. i. l., iv. xliii., vii. xliv.; Xenoph. Hist. Hell. ii. iv. 17., Anab. i. viii. 12. alibi.

to the alarum or signal sounds of the trumpet.[1] The term Pæan is also common to another briefer war song or shout, uttered in the midst of the engagement for the purpose of rallying the troops when disordered, or stimulating the pursuit when victorious. The pæans of this class among the Dorian states were so much the same, as to render it, when Dorian troops were opposed to each other, difficult to distinguish between friend and foe.[2]

POPULAR SONGS.

Popular songs. Definition of.

18. It still remains to notice that extensive class of miscellaneous lyric poems, for which our native vocabulary affords no better title than the somewhat indefinite one of "popular songs."[3] These compositions[4], though hardly falling, like those above illustrated, within the limits of cultivated lyric art, cannot with propriety be overlooked in any attempt to form a just estimate of the spirit or variety of Greek poetical genius. The distinction, indeed, between "popular song" and the more regular productions of the Lyric Muse is in no age or country very accurately marked; and least of all, perhaps, in a country like Greece, where almost every exercise of human ingenuity, especially in the walks of imagi-

[1] Xenoph. Hist. Hell. v. ii. 11.; Athen. xiv. p. 626.; Polyb. iv. xx.; Homer, Batrachomyom. 201. [2] Thucyd. vii. xliv.

[3] Better expressed, certainly, by the German term Volkslieder.

[4] A notice of their numerous varieties of form or subject will be found in Ilgen, Scolia, p. xiv. sqq.; conf. Athen. xiv. p. 618. sqq. Attention will here be devoted solely to the more interesting among the few of which either specimens or detailed descriptions have been transmitted. Collections of these specimens will be found in Bergk's Poett. lyrr. p. 878., and Schneidewin's Delect. Poes. Gr. pt. iii. p. 461. Both collections, however, include several passages not properly falling within the definition of popular song.

native art or literature, was so closely identified with the sympathies of the whole population, that it could hardly fail to become an object of artificial culture, as well as of subtle definition and commentary. The following appear to be the requisites, more or less indispensable, to entitle a poem to the character of "popular song." First, the subject should be of a strictly popular nature, should be intimately associated with the interests and feelings of the whole, or of some considerable portion, of the mass of the people, especially of the lower orders. Secondly, the song itself should be the spontaneous fruit of popular genius. It should be, if not necessarily anonymous, the production, at least, of some comparatively simple untaught minstrel, composing under the influence of an immediate personal association of his own habits and sympathies with the subject celebrated. Ascertained compositions by accomplished professional poets artistically adapting their talents to the manufacture of verses suited to the vulgar taste, even where such compositions prove so thoroughly congenial to that taste as to pass into poetical proverbs or commonplaces, cannot with propriety be ranged, as they occasionally have been by modern critics, under the head of popular songs; otherwise, much of the poetry of almost every distinguished lyric master of this period would require to be ranged under that head. The distinction here drawn may be illustrated by the case of the celebrated "Mitylenæan Mill Song," still in whole or in part preserved. This was the ditty by which the Lesbian women were wont to enliven their labours at the mill, during or subsequent to the crisis in the annals of their native republic (590

B.C.) which resulted in the supreme power being conferred on Pittacus by his fellow-citizens; or, as the faction opposed to him represented the case, in his tyrannical usurpation of that power:[1]

ἄλει, μύλα, ἄλει·
καὶ γὰρ Πιττακὸς ἀλεῖ
μεγάλας Μιτυλάνας βασιλεύων.

Grind, mill, grind!
For king Pittacus to his royal mind
This Mitylenæan state will grind.

There is, perhaps, no remnant of Greek lyric poetry which can claim with better right than these few verses, on internal grounds at least, the character of "popular" song. If, however, as some commentators[2] have very groundlessly surmised, the passage formed part of an ode composed by the poet Alcæus, the bitterest political opponent of Pittacus, for the use of the mill-grinders of his own faction, the case would be different. The fragment would then possess no better claim to a popular character than many other emanations from the satirical genius of the same poet, of Archilochus, and of other leading lyric satirists, which obtained permanent vogue and currency in the mouths of those members or masses of the community to whose tastes or habits they happened to be congenial.

Consistently with the above limitation, the number of extant specimens of Greek lyric poetry which can properly claim attention under the present head of subject is not very large. It is, however, probable that a considerable portion of that number date from this more primitive age of the national minstrelsy.

[1] Plut. Conv. Sept. S. XIV.

[2] Ap. Welcker, Sappho, Kleine Schr. vol. I. p. 117.

That such is the case is established, in regard to many of the fragments, by their own internal evidence. It is also certain, as a general rule, not only that the popular Muse is more prolific in early times than in epochs of more advanced civilisation, but that such of her productions as emanate from the former periods are more apt than those of later origin to obtain a permanent hold on the national mind.

Extant specimens.

19. Two classes of "popular" songs, possessing claims to remote antiquity, have been partially illustrated in the foregoing pages. The one comprises the Linus songs, under their several varieties; whether as joyous accompaniments of the vintage procession and harvest-home, or as rustic laments over the declining year, and the ephemeral duration of human life and happiness. The other class is that of Mendicant songs, or, as we shall here prefer designating them by a more gracious, though not, perhaps, more expressive phrase, of "Charity songs." Two specimens of this style of composition have already been noticed: the Iresione, or Lay of the Wool-chaplet; and the Epicichlides, or Lay of the Fieldfares.[1] Although both these poems passed current under the title of Homeric, and although the former, which alone has survived, is in not inelegant hexameter style, both may be considered, in respect to their origin and tendency, as better entitled to rank under the head of popular ballad than of polite literature. This remark may, perhaps, be extended to the Caminus, or Potter's Oven, also above illustrated as part of the Homeric collection. Another variety of Charity song was the Chelidonisma, or Lay of the Swallow. This was a congratulatory address sung by the

[1] Vol. II. p. 362. 371.

mendicant minstrels in front of the doors of their wealthy patrons, on the arrival of spring, or first appearance of the swallow; the Epicichlides being, it would appear, similarly connected with the autumn season, or season of the chase. The following are the opening lines of a characteristic Rhodian specimen of the Chelidonisma preserved by Athenæus:[1]

ἦλθ' ἦλθε χελιδών,
καλὰς ὥρας ἄγουσα,
καλοὺς ἐνιαυτούς·
ἐπὶ γαστέρα λευκά,
ἐπὶ νῶτα μέλαινα.
παλάθαν σὺ προκύκλει
ἐκ πίονος οἴκου·
οἴνου τε δέπαστρον,
τυροῦ τε κάνιστρον,
καὶ πύρνα, χελιδών,
καὶ τὸν λεκιθίταν,
οὐκ ἀπωθεῖται. . . κ. τ. λ.

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The swallow is here, the swallow is here,
She comes to proclaim the reviving year;
With her jet-black hood, and her milk-white breast,
She is come, she is come, at our behest,
The harbinger of the beautiful spring,
To claim your generous offering.
Let your bountiful door its wealth outpour,
What is little to you is to us great store;
A bunch of dry figs, and a savoury cruse
Of pulse pottage the swallow will not refuse;
With a basket of cheese and a barley cake,
And a cup of red wine our thirst to slake. . . &c.

These periodical effusions of mendicant minstrelsy

[1] VIII. p. 360.; Bergk, p. 882. A similar "Lay of the Swallow" (χελιδόνα) is still sung by the modern Greeks, at the same season, and with the same object. Fauriel, Chants popul. de la Grèce, vol. I. préf. p. xxviii., vol. II. p. 256.

possess also this claim to the more honourable title of Charity songs, that the perambulatory visits with which they were connected appear, from several classical notices, to have really assumed a certain form and privilege of charitable institution, or rude "poor-law," somewhat analogous to the "misericordia" of the modern Italian towns. They are described, at least, as having been sanctioned by legislative authority, under the title of Agermus, or Collection, in seasons of scarcity; especially by Cleobulus, "tyrant" of Lindus, a distinguished statesman of this period, and one of the Seven Sages.[1]

To the plaintive order of pastoral ditty, of which the song of Linus was the most distinguished representative, may be numbered the "Lament of Calycë."[2] This primitive lay was worked up, as we shall see in the sequel, into a pathetic love romance, by the distinguished lyric poet Stesichorus. It was, however, in its origin, merely a pastoral dirge or wail, symbolising, under the figure of the hopeless love and premature death of the nymph Calycë, or "Flower-bud," the evanescence of female youth, beauty, and happiness; just as the Linus song symbolised, by the calamitous adventures of its hero, the equally ephemeral duration of the same blessings in the male sex. The analogy between the two lays has, accordingly, been pointed out and illustrated by the ingenious and elegant Athenæus, to whom we are indebted for so rich and valuable a fund of notices concerning all these more delicate details of Greek manners and literature. From the same Athenæus

[1] Theogn. ap. Athen. VIII. p. 360. Similar to the Chelidonisma was the Colophonian Agermus called Coronisma, or the Crow-song; of which, however, no "popular" specimen has been preserved. Athen. VIII. p. 359.; Eustath. ad Od. p. 1914.

[2] Aristoxenus ap. Athen. XIV. p. 619.

we learn that, as the woes of Linus were habitually sung by the male order of rustic mourners, the celebration of the woes of Calyce was similarly appropriated to the melancholy muse of female minstrels.

Peculiar, also, to the minstrelsy of the fair sex was another pastoral lament[1], entitled Harpalyce[2], or the "Maid of twilight." This luckless nymph also, like Calyce, pines and dies of grief, when deserted or despised by the youth of her affections. Her fate is a plain figure of the "dying" or "parting hour of day," which has supplied material for passages of great excellence to illustrious modern poets.[3]

A third beautiful variety of poetical form, in which the same melancholy association of ideas was embodied, was the Lay of Eriphanis, or the "Maiden of morning dawn." This ill-fated heroine was also victim of an unrequited love, the object of which was a beautiful hunter youth named Menalcas. She, however, in the varied spirit of the allegory, is not described as dying, but, "in her disconsolate state, she roams over the mountains and through the forest glades, in the track of her beloved, wailing her sad destiny in notes so touching, that not only the human hearts most callous to the pangs of love melt with

[1] Athen. loc. cit.; Aristox. ap. eund.

[2] From ἁρπάζω (αρπω) and λυκη; conf. ἀμφιλύκη.

[3] Especially that exquisitely beautiful one of Dante:

"Era già l' ora che volge 'l desio
Ai naviganti, e 'ntenerisce il cuore,
Lo dì ch' han detto ai dolci amici, addio:
E che lo nuovo peregrin d' amore
Punge, se ode squilla di lontano,
Che paja il giorno pianger che si muore."

The last two verses have been paraphrased by Gray, but with an effect far inferior to that of the original, in his celebrated line,

"The curfew tolls the knell of parting day."

sympathy for her grief, but even the most ferocious wild beasts compassionate her lot."[1] The burden of her favourite lay was:

μακραὶ δρύες! ὦ Μέναλκα!

Tall grow the forest trees! Oh Menalcas!

The sentiment of romantic musing melancholy, which runs through the whole of this more plaintive order of rustic song, is one which naturally arises in the contemplative mind among scenes of mountain solitude or retired pastoral life, such as those in which Greece so greatly abounds. It is a sentiment not very easy to define, either in its sources or influence. But it is one, the charm of which no mind susceptible of the finer sympathies of our nature can fail in any age to feel and appreciate; a charm which must, therefore, have exercised a proportionally far more powerful sway on the minds of so imaginative a race as the primitive Greeks.

Another, more cheerful order of rustic lay was that called Anthema, or "the Flower song," chanted, it would appear, on the approach of spring, and of which the following couplet is extant, apparently a responsive chorus, or burden:[2]

1. ποῦ μοι τὰ ῥόδα, ποῦ μοι τὰ ἴα, ποῦ μοι τὰ καλὰ σέλινα;
2. ταδὶ τὰ ῥόδα, ταδὶ τὰ ἴα, ταδὶ τὰ καλὰ σέλινα.

Where are my roses, where are my violets, where is my beautiful parsley?

Thy roses are here, thy violets are here, and here is thy beautiful parsley!

[1] Clearch. ap. Athen. xiv. p. 619.

[2] Athen. xiv. p. 629.

Several lively specimens of nursery rhyme, or juvenile poetical pastime, have also been preserved. One of these is interesting from the apparent identity of character between the entertainment of which it formed part, and many of those common in the juvenile circles of the present day; showing that, even in this department of literature, there is nothing new under the sun. The game is played by young maidens, and the scene is the sea-shore. One of the party, called Chelonē, or the Tortoise, sits down on the beach; the others, dancing round her, address her, and she replies:[1]

Χορ. χελὶ χελώνη, τί ποεῖς[2] ἐν τῷ μέσῳ;
Χελ. ἔρια μαρύομαι καὶ κρόκην Μιλησίαν.
Χορ. ὁ δ' ἔκγονός σου τί ποῶν[2] ἀπώλετο;
Χελ. λευκᾶν ἀφ' ἵππων εἰς θάλασσαν ἅλατο.

Chor. Lady Tortoise, in the middle,
What's the work you're busy in?
Tort. A stock of wool fresh from Miletus
I have got to card and spin.
Chor. And your son, good Lady Tortoise,
How by his sad death came he?
Tort. From the back of our white horses[3]
Off he leapt into the sea.

Some of the longer lyric fragments claiming a place in the existing "popular" collection belonged to the ruder more turbulent order of Iobacchic or

[1] Pollux, IX. 125.; Eustath. ad Od. p. 1914. Another similar game called χύτρα, or the Pipkin (Poll. IX. 113.), was played by boys, of whose address and response the following smart iambic monometers formed part:

τίς τὴν χύτραν;
ἐγὼ Μίδας . . .

This pastime seems to have resembled the modern game of Hot cockles.

[2] Conf. Maitt. Dial. Ling. Gr. p. 8 A. 230 D.

[3] The white waves, or breakers.

Phallic entertainments above illustrated; and, though highly characteristic as specimens of their kind, are of little real poetical interest. In more agreeable style is the burden of the Spartan Trichoria[1], the festival jointly celebrated by the three generations of Spartan citizens, old men, youths, and boys:

Γέροντ. ἁμές ποκ' ἦμες ἄλκιμοι νεανίαι.
Νεαν. ἁμὲς δέ γ' εἰμές· αἰ δὲ λῇς πεῖραν λαβέ.
Παῖδες. ἁμὲς δέ γ' ἐσσόμεσθα πολλῷ κἀρρονες.

Old men. Brave youths we were in days gone by!
Young m. Brave youths we are; if ye doubt, ye may try!
Boys. Braver youths far than ye, in our day we shall be.

Another short but valuable remnant of popular Spartan poetry is quoted by Lucian[2], as the burden common to the songs by which some of the livelier Lacedæmonian dances were accompanied:

πόρρω παῖδες, πόδα μετάβατε, καὶ κωμάξατε βέλτιον!

Forward boys, and merrily foot it, and dance it better and better still!

The rhythm of this line, offering a spirited combination of trochaïc and dactylic forms, corresponds, it may be remarked, in all essential respects, with that of the modern Neapolitan tarantella. As Tarentum was one of the most distinguished of Spartan colonies, and as music and song are perhaps the departments of national custom in which antient taste and habit are apt to remain most inveterate, it is no very far-fetched inference, that we have in the Tarantella a genuine representative of some of the popular Laconian dances.

[1] Plut. Lyc. xxi.
[2] De Salt. x.; Bergk, Poett. lyrr. p. 880.

CHAP. III.

BIOGRAPHY OF LYRIC POETS. CALLINUS. ARCHILOCHUS. SIMONIDES. TYRTÆUS.

1. LEADING LYRIC POETS OF THIS PERIOD, AS CLASSED IN THE ALEXANDRIAN CANON.—2. CALLINUS. HIS AGE, AS COMPARED WITH THAT OF ARCHILOCHUS. —3. CHARACTER, WORKS, AND TIMES OF CALLINUS. —4. ARCHILOCHUS. — 5. HIS BIRTH, LIFE, AND CHARACTER. — 6. DISAPPOINTED LOVE AND REVENGE. — 7. PROMISCUOUS IMPARTIALITY OF HIS SATIRE. HIS DEATH. — 8. HIS GENIUS AND THAT OF HOMER IN THEIR PARALLEL AND THEIR CONTRAST. — 9. REDEEMING FEATURES OF HIS MORAL CHARACTER. PERSONAL INDIVIDUALITY OF HIS POETRY. — 10. ORIGINALITY AND FERTILITY OF HIS INVENTIVE GENIUS. DETAILS OF STYLE AND IMAGERY. EPITHETS. DIALECT. — 11. METRICAL ELEMENTS OF HIS COMPOSITION. CLASSIFICATION OF HIS WORKS. — 12. HIS GENIUS ILLUSTRATED BY HIS REMAINS. — 13. REMARKS ON THE LOSS OF HIS POEMS. — 14. SIMONIDES OF AMORGOS. — 15. HIS POEM "ON WOMEN." ORIGIN OF GREEK POETICAL SATIRE AGAINST THE FEMALE SEX. HESIOD. PANDORA. — 16. STYLE OF THE POEM "ON WOMEN." OTHER WORKS OF SIMONIDES. — 17. TYRTÆUS. HIS POPULAR BIOGRAPHY. — 18. ITS AUTHENTICITY. — 19. HIS AGE, CHARACTER, WORKS.

1. THE branches of composition comprehended in the foregoing general view of Greek lyric poetry may be ranked under three principal heads of Elegiac, Iambic, and Lyric proper, or Melic. This subdivision, if not specifically laid down, is indirectly sanctioned by the antient grammarians, in their appropriation of one or other of the above titles to individual authors, on the ground of their preference respectively of the style to which such title belongs. The Alexandrian list or canon[1] of standard melic poets for the flourishing age of art comprises but nine: Alcman, Stesichorus, Alcæus, Sappho, Ibycus, Anacreon, Simonides (of Ceos), Bacchylides, Pindar. The works of these authors are limited, accordingly, to melic composition,

Leading lyric poets of this period, as classed in the Alexandrian canon.

[1] Quint. x. i. 61.; Anthol. Pal. ix. epigr. 184. 571.; Schol. Pind. Boeckh, Præf. p. 7, 8.

either exclusively, or with rare exception in favour of the elegy or iambic trimeter. Archilochus, on the other hand, although, in the more general sense of the term, the greatest of Greek lyric poets, and so characterised by antient grammarians[1], was classed, along with Simonides of Amorgos and Hipponax, as an iambographer.[2] Callinus, Tyrtæus, and Mimnermus rank as elegiac authors.[3] Even this extended classification does not comprehend several of the most illustrious names in the annals of lyric art; those, for example, of Terpander, Thaletas, Arion, who, though distinguished as poets, being still more celebrated as musical composers, were ranked as musicians, or, as the antient critics express it, as harp-players or flute-players, according as their taste or talent happened to lie in the department of wind- or string-instruments. To these, with other less celebrated artists of the same order, a distinct share of attention has already been devoted. Arion alone, in consideration of his special celebrity as a poet, will claim a separate notice in the biographical department of our subject. Another technical distinction might be, and has by some authors on the lyric history of this period been, founded on the peculiar cultivation of certain styles in certain regions or by certain races; of the elegy, for example, and iambus by Ionian poets, Callinus, Archilochus, Simonides, Tyrtæus, Mimnermus, Solon; of the lighter melic style by the Æolians, Alcæus, Sappho, and their school; and of the more complicated choric orders of composition in the Dorian states, by Alcman, Arion, and Stesichorus. These various subdistinctions,

[1] Ap. Liebel. Archil. Fragm. p. 3.
[2] Procl. Chrest. Gaisf. p. 380.; Lucian. Pseudol. 11.
[3] Conf. Procl. p. 379.

however, while just and well-founded in themselves, and hence carefully kept in view in the foregoing general history of lyric art, are of too technical a nature, and too little definite in their application to individual cases, to form an appropriate rule of biographical arrangement. The more convenient method will be to comprise the whole remaining authors of this period, elegiac, iambic, and melic, under the common head of Lyric, and treat their lives and works in chronological order. It happens, also, that this chronological succession supplies in itself, spontaneously, about as near an approximation to a generic arrangement as were desirable, or, perhaps, even practicable, had the latter method been purposely preferred.[1]

CALLINUS. 700 B.C.

Callinus and his age, as compared with that of Archilochus.

2. Among these earlier votaries of the Greek Lyric Muse, the palm of antiquity has usually been awarded to Callinus of Ephesus.[2] The only author on whose behalf a counter-claim has with any plausibility been

[1] The authors whose lives form the subject of the present chapter, Callinus, Archilochus, Simonides, and Tyrtæus, were all cultivators of the Ionian (either the elegiac or iambic) styles of lyric art. Alcman, Arion, Stesichorus, and the other poets comprised in Ch. iv., also rank together, both in the order of their time and of their more properly melic or choral styles. The same holds good of Alcæus, Sappho, Erinna, in Ch. v. Mimnermus, while dated, though doubtfully, by extant authorities, somewhat earlier than the leaders of the Lesbian school, has, in consideration partly of his personal connexion with Solon, partly of his own elegiac style, been included in the chapter (vi.) devoted to the Attic legislator and his seven fellow-sages, with whom the annals of this period close. In the date attached to each name, where a single number occurs, it indicates the probable acme or flourishing period of the poet's life. The double number indicates the period of time over which the existing more authentic notices of him extend.

[2] Bach, Callini Carmina, Lips. 1831; Schneidewin, Delect. Poes. Gr. p. 1.; Bergk, Poett. lyrr. Gr. p. 303.; Gaisf. Poett. minn. vol. III. ed. Lips. p. 224. The remains are quoted according to the arrangement of Bach.

advanced is Archilochus. The balance of opinion in favour of the Ephesian poet rests chiefly on a comparison of certain allusions in their respective works to the events of contemporary history.[1] During the latter part of the eighth and commencement of the seventh century B.C. Asia Minor was invaded by Scythian hordes, called Cimmerians and Trereans, from the northern shores of the Euxine. These barbarians, after occupying Sardis, the Lydian capital, destroyed the city of Magnesia on the Mæander, the metropolis of a flourishing Ionian state, and rival in power to Ephesus. Archilochus[2], in a still extant passage, commiserates this calamity of the Magnesians. Callinus[3] is also cited as acquainted with the destruction of their city; but it seems he had, in another place, mentioned it as still in prosperous condition.[4] Hence it was argued that Callinus, as having been acquainted with the earlier, while Archilochus knew but the latter, state of the unfortunate community, was the older poet of the two. The fallacy of this reasoning is sufficiently apparent. That either poet should have mentioned the concerns of this particular city must be considered as in itself but an accidental circumstance; nor, certainly, were such notices likely to be as frequent with Archilochus of Paros as with Callinus of Ephesus. Any extraordinary disaster befalling a distinguished Hellenic city, such as its total destruction by invading barbarians, might very naturally supply matter of allusion to popular poets, even of a distant part of the confederacy. But it is certainly far less likely that the ordinary condition

[1] Strab. XIV. p. 647.; Clem. Alex. Str. p. 333.; conf. Clint. Fast. Hell. ad an. 712 B.C.; Bach, Callin. p. 6.

[2] Lieb. frg. 29.; conf. nott. ad loc.

[3] Ap. Athen. XII. p. 525 c.

[4] Strab. et Clem. sup. cit.

or prospects of Magnesia should have been celebrated by a poet of Paros or Thasos, than by one of Ephesus, the immediate neighbour and rival of the same Magnesia. But, in fact, the terms in which Archilochus mentions the calamity of Magnesia, as an event of recent occurrence, plainly, though indirectly, imply that he had also known the city in its previous flourishing condition. All, therefore, that can be gathered from the above data is that the two poets were contemporary with the destruction of Magnesia.

Their common epoch still remains doubtful, owing to the uncertain chronology of that event, and of others connected with it. The inroads of those Scythian tribes into Asia Minor are described as occurring at various intervals, from before the Olympic æra (776 B.C.) down to the age of Halyattes, father of Crœsus (617 B.C.); and the dates of their principal ravages are but imperfectly defined.[1] It is fortunate, therefore, that we possess, in respect to Archilochus, a more solid basis of calculation, in the part taken by him in the colonisation of Thasos from his native island of Paros. The lowest date

[1] See Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. I. ad an. 712 B.C., 678 B.C., 635 B.C., 617 B.C. The leading chronological pivots are here the reigns of the kings of Lydia, as given by Herodotus (ap. Clint. locc. citt.).

Gyges succeeds Candaules	-	716 B.C.
and reigns	-	38
Ardys succeeds	-	678
and reigns	-	49
Sadyattes succeeds	-	629
and reigns	-	12
Halyattes succeeds	-	617

The destruction of Magnesia is placed in the only specific notice extant on the subject (Plin. XXXV. viii. (xxix.), conf. VII. XXXVIII. (XXXIX.),) in the reign of Candaules; but the passage is of an apocryphal character.

assigned to this event is 708 B.C.[1] Assuming him to have been then a youth of twenty, his birth would fall about 728 B.C., during the reign of Candaules, king of Lydia, who was murdered by Gyges in 716 B.C.[2] Herodotus[3], accordingly, describes Archilochus as contemporary with the death of Candaules. These data tend, consequently, to confirm the otherwise not very trustworthy notice of Pliny[4], which places the destruction of Magnesia by the Trereans in the reign of Candaules. If, upon these data, the epoch or acme of Archilochus be fixed about or soon after 700 B.C., Callinus may, upon the same grounds, be considered as coeval with, or at the most as an elder contemporary of, the Parian poet. This precedence we have accordingly, in so far at least as regards the order of biographical arrangement, here been contented to award him, in deference, however, rather to the popular opinion than to the weight of the evidence on which it rests.[5]

Character, works, and times of Callinus.

3. That Callinus was a native of Ephesus is unanimously agreed, but of his birth, parentage, or history, no details have been transmitted. His claims to the honour of "inventor" of the elegy have been examined in another place.[6] He is, at least, justly entitled to compete with Archilochus for the credit of having been the first poet of ascertained date by whom the elegiac order of composition was cultivated. His remains, which are exclusively in elegiac measure, comprise from twenty to thirty lines of appeal to the martial or political feelings of his countrymen. They bespeak a man of a proud spirit and

[1] Clint. Fast. Hell. ad an.; Lieb. Fragm. Archil. p. 5. sqq.

[2] Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. I. p. 170.

[3] I. xii.; conf. Lieb. op. cit. p. 8. and frg. 2. [4] xxxv. viii. (xxix.)

[5] Of a somewhat apocryphal recognition by Aristotle of the superior antiquity of Callinus, see Bode, Gesch. der Hell. Dichtk. vol. II. pt. ii. p. 139. sq.

[6] Supra, p. 16. sqq., 20. sq.

ardent patriotism, flourishing at a period when such qualities were less in the ascendant among his Ephesian fellow-citizens than in his own bosom, or than was required by the political emergencies of the times. Deeply affected by the dangers with which his native republic was threatened in the advance of the barbaric invaders, to whose arms several neighbouring states had already fallen victims, he reproaches the Ephesians, in a still extant ode[1], with their sluggish apathy to the war which raged around them, draws a lively picture of the impending calamities, and exhorts them to buckle on their armour, and prepare for a valiant defence of their altars and homes. The scanty remnants of these patriotic addresses afford a no less favourable opinion of his poetical taste than of his personal character. Their style is concise and energetic, in good keeping with the tone of earnest remonstrance and spirited martial exhortation by which they are animated. If, however, we may judge from the rarity of the extant appeals to his text, and from the absence of laudatory comments on the passages cited, Callinus would not appear to have enjoyed any high reputation among the antients, on the ground of his purely poetical attributes. He is quoted rather for the antiquity of his historical testimony, and as the accredited inventor of the elegy, than from any inherent excellence in the passages adduced. These passages still possess a deep interest, from the light which they reflect, in their combination with other supplementary notices by Archilochus and later authorities, on the political state of the Ionian Greeks at this epoch. The martial spirit which animated their ancestors of the heroic age

[1] Frg. 1.

now appears relaxed, but not extinguished, by the influence of wealth and civilisation. "How long," exclaims their poetical monitor, "while dangers "thicken around you, will ye repose, thoughtless and "unconcerned, in the lap of social enjoyment, equally "free from alarm at the advance of the foe, and from "shame for your backwardness to face him in the "field!" [1]

μέχρις τεῦ κατάκεισθε; κότ' ἄλκιμον ἔξετε θυμόν,
ὦ νέοι; οὐδ' αἰδεῖσθ' ἀμφιπεριπτίονας,
ὧδε λίην μεθιέντες; ἐν εἰρήνῃ δὲ δοκεῖτε
ἥσθαι· ἀτὰρ πόλεμος γαῖαν ἅπασαν ἔχει. . . .

The actual approach of hostile aggression sufficed, however, to awaken their patriotic energies, as evinced by their subsequent successful resistance to the barbarian invader, and by his ultimate expulsion from the states of the Hellenic confederacy. That the military genius of the race, though apt to slumber, was far from extinct, appears also from the extant notices of the relations between the colonies themselves, and of the fierce wars waged with each other, as well as against their Lydian neighbours; wars involving the destruction of some of the fairest and most flourishing Greek cities of Asia.

The only work of Callinus cited under a specific title is an address to Jupiter[2], propitiating his favour towards the "Smyrnæans." By this term, as the interpreters inform us, with what reason may be a question, the poet characterises his own fellow-citizens, Ephesus having formerly been called Smyrna. His compositions seem to have been replete with allusions to interesting points of native history and tradition. He traced certain early settlements in the Troad to

[1] Frg. I. [2] Bach ad frg. IV.; Strab. ap. eund.

Crete [1], and recorded the adventures of some of the Greek heroes who remained in Asia after the destruction of Troy, especially the wanderings and death of Calchas[2], and the subsequent establishment of the followers of that prophet in the interior of the peninsula. He is also cited by Pausanias, in a passage of somewhat uncertain reading, as having ascribed the Cyclic Thebaïs to Homer.[3] The internal evidence even of the few preserved remains of his odes shows him to have been intimately acquainted with Homer's genuine works. Several of his pithiest moral or political reflexions are, in fact, little more than transcripts or paraphrases of corresponding passages of the Iliad or Odyssey.[4]

The martial sentiments, images, and tone of expression, in the bulkiest of the few extant passages of this poet, find so near a counterpart in the far more copious remains of his younger contemporary Tyrtæus, as to afford colour at least to the suspicion of a distinguished modern critic[5], that this text may be an extract from Tyrtæus, erroneously ascribed to Callinus, either by the original compiler of the

[1] Frg. VI. [2] Frg. VII.

[3] Pausan. IX. ix. 3. Of the probability that the author here alluded to was the antient Callinus, see Welck. Ep. C. p. 198. sqq.; conf. Marcksch. Fragm. Hesiod. p. 149.

[4] Frg. I. 12. 20., conf. Il. VI. 488. sq., Od. XI. 556.; frg. IV., conf. Il. I. 40.

[5] Thiersch, Act. Philol. Monac. vol. III. p. 576. Thiersch's proposal, however, it must be observed, comes with but a bad grace from a critic who elsewhere (op. cit. p. 642. sqq.), on account of imputed discrepancies of style or allusion pronounces the whole collection which passed current under the name "Tyrtæus" (as the same critic and the school to which he belongs have also pronounced the works of Homer, Hesiod, and, in fact, every Greek poet of this period) to be a mere cento of fragments by many different authors. To talk, under these circumstances, of assigning to "Tyrtæus" by preferable right, on grounds of internal evidence, any particular passage usually imputed to Callinus, seems altogether nugatory.

antient Florilegium[1] where alone the fragment is preserved, or by his transcribers. In the absence, however, of all documentary evidence in favour of this conjecture, the safer alternative must be, to assume that Tyrtæus has borrowed from or imitated his Ephesian predecessor. In subjects, indeed, of this nature, marked coincidences could hardly fail spontaneously to arise in the works of different poets; and there is reason to believe, from this and other examples, that in the elegiac, as in the old epic or heroic school, many popular images or phrases had passed into a sort of commonplace, or public property, among the successive professors of the martial or political school of elegiac composition.

ARCHILOCHUS. 728—660 B. C.

Archilochus.

4. The life, works, and character of Archilochus[2] supply one of the most remarkable chapters in the history not only of Grecian literature, but of human nature. To no poet of classical antiquity, with the single exception of Homer, has so high a celebrity been so unanimously or enthusiastically awarded. In the familiar allusions of the leading native critics to the standard classical authors, Homer and Archi-

[1] Stob. Fl. LI. xix. Bernhardy (Grundr. der Hell. Lit. vol. II. p. 330.), without subscribing to Thiersch's views, leans to the opinion, previously hazarded by Valckenaer, that the whole of this passage of "Callinus" is the forgery of a later period. He adduces, among other equally pointless arguments in favour of this view, the occurrence of the phrase ὀλίγος καὶ μέγας, in the antithetical sense of "great and small;" of which he says there is no example in any author prior to Theocritus. He has overlooked both Homer and Hesiod. Od. x. 94. alibi; Hes. Opp. et D. 641.

[2] Liebel, Archilochi Reliquiæ; Gaisf. Poett. minn. vol. iii. ed. Lips. p. 85.; Bergk, Poet. lyrr. p. 467.; Schneidewin, Delect. Poes. Gr. pt. ii. p. 171. The fragments are here quoted according to the arrangement of Liebel, unless where another collection is specified.

lochus are set apart[1] as a duumvirate of poets, to be compared with whom the world never saw, and never again will see, a third; as constituting, each in his proper sphere, a distinct standard of excellence, far removed above the reach of competition in any other quarter; and tested by which standard the beauties of all others are as the insipidity of water compared with the flavour of wine.[2] In their antient busts, accordingly, the effigies of the two poets appear combined in the form of Janus or double Hermes, as the joint eponymi or Dioscuri of Greek poetical literature[3]; and, in the same spirit of common veneration, their natal feast was celebrated on the same day, and with joint honours.[4]

The great Alexandrian critic, Aristophanes[5], considered the compositions of Archilochus so near perfection, that, when consulted which was the best, his answer was simply, "the longest." Longinus[6] speaks with rapture of the torrent of his divine inspiration, constraining us to admire even the blemishes which it bore along with it in its impetuous course. Among the Romans he was equally esteemed. Respectable critics of both nations have gone the length of assigning him perhaps even a superiority of natural genius to the poet of the Iliad, inferior as he may have shown himself in his mode of exercising his powers. In an epigram[7] ascribed to the emperor Hadrian, it is said to have been by the special favour of the Muses to Homer that the efforts of Archilochus were

[1] Velleius Paterc. I. 5.; Dio Chrysost. Orat. XXXIII. vol. II. p. 5. sq. Reisk.; Longin. de Subl. XXXIII. 5.; Cic. Orator, i.

[2] Antipater in Epigr. ap. Lieb. p. XIII.; Anthol. Pal. XI. 20.

[3] Visconti, Iconogr. Gr. vol. i. p. 62.; Mus. P. Clem. vol. vi. pl. 20.

[4] Antip. in Anth. Pal. XI. 20.; conf. Diog. Laert. vit. Heraclid. 87.

[5] Ap. Cic. Ep. ad Att. XVI. xi.

[6] De Subl. loc. sup. cit.

[7] Ap. Lieb. p. XIV.; Anth. Pal. VII. 674.

confined to the less noble branches of poetical art. Plato[1] pronounces him the wisest of poets. By other philosophical critics[2] he is designated the breath and soul, Homer the voice, of Wisdom. Archilochus is also styled the most beautiful of poets[3], with reference more immediately to the high polish of his style. The parallel between his celebrity and that of his great epic predecessor extends to the mythical details of their history. The Delphic oracle foretold[4] to the father of Archilochus that a son would be born to him "immortal among men in the glory of his song." The author of his death was denounced[5] in the same sanctuary as guilty of sacrilege, in destroying the favourite servant of Apollo. Hence he is further described as surpassing even Homer in the lustre of his destiny, in having been not only at his birth, but in his death, an object of engrossing interest to the gods themselves.[6] His works remained, like the Iliad and Odyssey, a common fountain head of poetical excellence, whence the greatest of his successors were not ashamed largely to draw, interweaving whole verses and passages with their own text.[7] His poems also supplied, after those of Homer, the favourite subject of commentary to the greatest critics.[8] His celebrity is further attested by numerous epigrams, commenting on the excellence of his genius, and the more striking features of his character and history.[9]

[1] De Republ. p. 365 c.

[2] Philostr. vit. Soph. p. 620. ed. Lips. 1709.

[3] Synes. Encom. Calv. p. 75. ed. Petav.

[4] Euseb. Præp. Ev. ed. 1668, p. 227.; Steph. Byz. v. Θάσσος.

[5] Heraclid. Polit. VIII.; Plut. De Ser. Num. Vind. p. 560.; Dio Chrys. vol. II. p. 5. Reisk.; Aristid. Oratt. vol. ii. p. 296. ed. Jebb.

[6] Dio Chrys. loc. sup. cit.

[7] Conf. Lieb. p. 21. sqq.

[8] Aristarchus, Apollonius Rhod., Heraclides Ponticus, Aristophanes, ap. Lieb. p. 23.

[9] Ap. Lieb. p. xi. sqq.

On comparing, however, this proud array of testimonials with the data on which they are founded, one cannot fail to be struck on first view by the contrast, and feels at a loss to discover any sufficient title to so brilliant an award of renown. Scanty as are the preserved remains of Archilochus, they yet suffice, with the aid of collateral notices, to afford a fair criterion of the general character of his muse. No trace can be discerned of any composition approaching to what is commonly considered the higher standard of poetical art; none distinguished by vastness of design or grandeur of execution; no deep tone of tragic pathos; no lofty strain of martial or patriotic enthusiasm. The property to which attention is chiefly directed by his commentators, as the primary basis of his fame, is the skill with which he employed his favourite iambic measure, in what was held to be its original destination, mordacious satire and scurrilous pasquinade. His most celebrated productions are admitted to have been inspired and pervaded by a fierce spirit of revenge; a passion hateful in itself at best, and in his case devoid of claim to even such amount of dignity as it may occasionally derive from the causes which call it forth. With Archilochus, vindictive wrath originated in ungenerous or discreditable motives, was directed against unprotected objects, and exhibited in unmanly or brutal excess. How then, it may be asked, could even the most unlimited command of the secondary resources of his art have obtained him, in preference to Æschylus, Pindar, or Sophocles, a seat on the highest pinnacle of Parnassus, by the side of Homer? In order to arrive at any effectual solution of the apparent enigma involved in this question, it will be proper to have distinctly before us the leading facts of the

poet's history, which possess the peculiar attraction of being, with scarcely an exception, either transmitted by himself, or confirmed by his incidental allusions. The chronological details of his biography have been disposed of[1] in treating of Callinus, and need not here be recapitulated.

His birth, life, and character.

5. The celebrated painter Polygnotus of Thasos, in a picture representing the descent of Ulysses to Hades, painted on the wall of the great saloon of the Delphic sanctuary, introduced, among the passengers in the bark of Charon, Tellis of Paros, and his sister Cleobœa, the great-grandfather and great-grand-aunt of Archilochus.[2] Cleobœa was portrayed as a young virgin with a sacred chest on her lap, allusive to the rites of Ceres, reported to have been first introduced by her from Paros into Thasos, in which latter island Archilochus settled as a colonist, and afterwards resided. This would imply, either that Polygnotus believed in the settlement of a Parian colony in Thasos, under the auspices of the ancestors of Archilochus, prior to that led hither by the poet himself; or that Cleobœa, as a matron of distinguished family, had been selected in her latter days as the instrument of importing the worship of Ceres into the new settlement of her great-grand-nephew. How either she or her brother Tellis came to be allotted by Polygnotus a place in the bark of Charon, in the days of Ulysses, is not so easily explained.

The poet's father's name was Telesicles[3]; his mother, as he has himself been at pains to record, was a slave named Enipo[4]; an origin typical of the

[1] Supra, p. 131. sq.; conf. infra, p. 149. note 6.
[2] Paus. x. xxviii.
[3] Euseb. Præp. Ev. ed. 1688, p. 227. 256.
[4] Ælian. Var. Hist. x. xiii.

combination of noble and degrading attributes in his character. At an early age he was selected as leader of the colony which, in obedience to the Delphic decree[1], the Parians (708 B.C.) established in Thasos. No distinct notice has been transmitted of the circumstances which obtained him this honour; whether a previous family connexion with the island, the early prophecy as to his future greatness, his own precocious indication of genius, or the fact also recorded in tradition, that to his penetration the Parians were indebted for the knowledge of the exact spot destined for the new settlement in the enigmatic response of the Pythoness. His own inducements to the undertaking, poverty and discontent in his native island[2], were of no auspicious nature. A fragment of his parting address to the land of his fathers has been preserved, and is in very characteristic style,

ἔα Πάρον,
καὶ σῦκα κεῖνα καὶ θαλάσσιον βίον.

Away with Paros!
Her figs and fishy life.

Nor does his new residence, Thasos, seem to have been much more to his taste. Some of his bitterest strokes of satire are directed against the inhospitable soil of that island, eulogised by more impartial authorities for its fertility and wealth.[3] By Archilochus it is taunted as "thrice wretched, the sink of all "Hellenic ills[4], the source of calamities from which "no tear could be spared even for the sad fate of the "Magnesians[5];" and its woody heights are sarcas-

[1] Euseb. Præp. Ev. p. 226. 256.; Steph. B. v. Θάσσος.
[2] Ælian. V. H. x. xiii.; Euseb. Præp. Ev. p. 226.; conf. Lieb. p. 14.
[3] Plut. de Exil. p. 604 c.; Theocrit. Epigr. VIII.; conf. Lieb. p. 78.
[4] Frgg. 52. 92. [5] Frg. 28.

tically compared "to the backbone of an ass."[1] That the unprosperous course of his worldly affairs was owing, not so much to any real harshness of destiny, as to his own contempt for the means of bettering his lot, is vouched for, besides his own indirect testimony, by both Pindar[2] and Ovid.[3] Nor were his poetical talents calculated to provide relief to his distressed circumstances. Literary genius, even in those days, when favourably exercised, was indeed a source of gain. The talents of the epic bard, in primitive times, secured him hospitality and presents; and, in the Parian poet's own age, we find Terpander, Alcman, and other lyric professors, entertained at public expense as state musicians. But neither the personal character of Archilochus, nor the nature of his productions, were calculated, permanently at least, to obtain him a like advantage. That the responsibility of defeating any such prospect as may have opened up lay at his own door, in so far as regards Lacedæmon, at that period the great mart for poetical commodities, will be seen in the sequel.

Disappointed love and revenge.

6. To his other sources of bitterness of spirit were added those of disappointed love. He had been promised by a Parian citizen named Lycambes the hand of his daughter Neobule; a maiden, as we learn from some of the poet's own allusions, of great personal attractions, and for whom he seems to have entertained an ardent affection. The match, however, was broken off, in the first instance, it would seem, by authority of the father, but with the goodwill also, it is implied, of the bride herself. How far in this, the most celebrated adventure either of his personal or poetical history, Archilochus may have been himself

[1] Frg. 29. [2] Pyth. II. 98. sqq.; conf. Schol. ad loc. [3] Ibis, 523.

in fault, how far he may have been the victim of wanton ill-treatment on the part of others, does not distinctly appear. In his own version of the story he naturally represents himself as the aggrieved party, and in a still remaining passage broadly denounces Lycambes as a perjured man.[1] But the tone of the poet's temper and character renders it more than probable that he was himself alone or chiefly to blame. The unmanly spirit of revenge with which he persecuted the previous object of his love is in itself a virtual justification of her father in breaking off her engagement to such a man. The step, however, whether justifiable or not, was pregnant with fatal consequences to the whole family, comprising two other daughters of Lycambes. All became the objects of the poet's unrelenting hatred and calumnious satire. His cruelest attacks were directed, with characteristic baseness, against Neobule and her sisters, as the most susceptible victims. The unfortunate damsels, Neobule more especially, were accused of the most abandoned profligacy, and held up to public scorn in lampoons teeming with the most offensive details of their imputed enormities.[2] The success of his vindictive efforts was complete. Both Lycambes and Neobule, or, in the more popular accounts, all three daughters, were driven to self-destruction, as the only refuge from the virulence of his persecution.[3] So dire an extreme of catastrophe justifies the suspicion of exaggeration, if not of actual fiction, in the details of the story ; although it is not

[1] Frg. 89. ; conf. Lieb. ibid.

[2] Frg. 5. 145. 149. alibi; Epigrr. ap. Lieb. p. xii. sqq. ; Gaisf. ad frg. XXVI.

[3] Epigr. v. ap. Lieb. ; in Epigr. VII. only two ; conf. Eustath. ad Od. p. 1684. ; Lieb. p. 16.

impossible, as antient commentators have remarked, that the example of a single member of a united and affectionate family might, in such a case, prove contagious among the remainder.[1] The story supplies at least a strong attestation by the public with whom it found credit, to the overwhelming power of the poet's satire. The adventure, with the names of those concerned, passed in after ages into proverb; and while a clever slanderer was called an Archilochus, the Lycambides became typical of all victims of calumnious persecution.[2]

By some, however, of the poet's modern apologists, this fatal sensitiveness on the part of the unfortunate damsels has been adduced as proof that his imputations against their character were not altogether groundless. A certain foundation of fact, it is urged, is indispensable to the success of all satire; nor could sheer calumny have driven those against whom it was directed to so desperate a refuge from its assaults. That this rule, however, were a dangerous one is evinced by the case of other victims of slander, whose unsullied innocence is better ascertained than that of the Lycambides. The character of Socrates would require, according to this doctrine, to be judged by the Clouds of Aristophanes. The rule might perhaps be reversed; and it might with better reason be maintained, that young women capable of but a small portion of the crimes with which the Lycambides were charged by Archilochus could hardly have been so sensitive to his attacks, as to commit self-destruction in order to escape from them. The

[1] So the Schol. to Horat. Ep. vi. ap. Lieb. p. 16.

[2] Plat. ap. Athen. xi. p. 505 d.; Cic. ad Attic. ii. xx.; Suid. v. Ἀρχίλ.; Eustath. p. 1684.; conf. Lieb. p. 40.

antients certainly took the more charitable view of the case. Nowhere is there a hint of their having admitted any other ground for the poet's malevolence than the failure of his betrothed to fulfil her engagement; while her entire innocence, and that of her sisters, of the more odious crimes imputed to them, is frequently, warmly, and eloquently asserted.[1] Strange too, as the unhappy maidens are made to remark in the words placed in their mouths by one of their apologists[2], that Archilochus should either have sought the hand of so abandoned a female, or should have found difficulty in obtaining at a cheaper rate those favours which he accuses her of bestowing freely upon slaves and scavengers. No less strange, if indeed the term can properly apply to any trait of such a character, that, in holding up Neobule to scorn and contumely, the satirist should have been blind to the disgrace reflected on Archilochus, by the fact which he was at such pains to proclaim to the world, that his offers of honourable connexion had been spurned even by the most abandoned of her sex.

Promiscuous impartiality of his satire.

7. But the sting of the poet's satire was not confined to his enemies. He himself boasts of his impartiality in sparing neither friend nor foe. Accordingly one Pericles, whom in his more placid mood he addresses in the confidential tone of a favourite companion, is elsewhere denounced as a low glutton and parasite.[3] Another, named Charilaüs, is treated in a somewhat similar manner.[4] It must also be allowed, that, if he had no mercy on others, he was but little

[1] See, especially, the beautiful epigram of Dioscorides in Anthol. Palat. VII. 351.; and ap. Lieb. p. xii.

[2] Epigr. Dioscor. sup. cit.

[3] Frg. 1. 55. 126.; conf. Athen. I § xiv.; Aristid. vol. II. p. 293.

[4] Frg. 54.; conf. Aristid. loc. cit.

indulgent towards himself. All or most of his extant or recorded allusions to his own history are discreditable to his character. He boasts both of the volubility and the venom of his tongue, pluming himself, as one of his noblest talents, on that member's power and readiness to revenge his injuries. This disposition he illustrates by the burlesque, but to those familiar with the habits of the animal happy, comparison of himself to the wood-cricket, which, "noisy by nature "even when unprovoked, screams the more shrilly "when twitted by the wing."[1] He even reproached himself, in the same reckless spirit of candour, with vices little less disgraceful than those laid to the charge of Neobule. "Archilochus," says one[2] of the many antient moralists for whose speculations his eccentricities supplied material, "was but a sorry witness in his own cause; for, had he not himself informed us, we might never perhaps have known of his being the son of a slave; of his adulteries, and his other filthy habits; of his overbearing violence, and his practice of promiscuously slandering both friend and foe; of the hatred borne to him by his fellow-citizens, or of his having cast away his shield in the hurry of his flight from the field of battle." The passage last alluded to is still extant[3], in which he records with great unconcern, or even self-satisfaction, how, in a combat with a Thracian enemy, he had "left his "buckler among the bushes; but that it was no "matter, the fortunate finder might rejoice in his "prize, for life was better than a shield, and another "as good would easily be found." For this act, so proverbially discreditable to a Hellenic warrior, or rather, perhaps, for his shameless avowal of it, the

[1] Frg. 125. [2] Critias ap. Ælian. V. H. x. xiii. [3] Frg. 58.

Spartans are said to have forbid him their territory.[1]

This chapter of his satirical autobiography may, however, fairly be taken rather as proof of his contempt for public opinion, than of any actual deficiency of military conduct. The loss of a shield was at the worst but an ordinary, often a necessary, consequence of flight, and the bravest warrior may at times be reduced to trust to his legs for his safety.[2] Few, however, will be found sufficiently callous to the point of honour to boast of such an exploit. The best proof how common the occurrence was, is to be found in the fact that the two most illustrious successors and imitators of Archilochus, Alcæus[3] and Horace[4], of whom the former was certainly far from deficient in martial prowess, were not only guilty of the same act, but carried their emulation of their Parian prototype the length of also emblazoning their shame in their verse. Had all subsequent warriors been witty and popular poetical satirists, the number of such confessions might have been greatly augmented. It seems, at least, certain, that Archilochus was extensively engaged in military adventures. He calls himself, in a still extant couplet[5], a servant of Mars as well as of the Muses; and the tenor of several other passages bespeaks a martial spirit. The circumstance of his having died in battle must go far to make amends for any previous self-imputed poltroonery; and the additional circumstance that this fate should have befallen him, if the extant notices can be trusted, when nearly seventy years of age[6],

[1] Plut. Instit. Lacon. p. 239. [2] So Plato, de Legg. p. 943 E.
[3] Bergk, Alc. frg. 32.; Herodot. v. xcv. [4] Carm. II. vii. 10.
[5] Frg. 59.; conf. 57. alibi. [6] Conf. Lieb. p. 11. sq. 43.; Auctt. ibid.

seems in itself conclusive argument of his military prowess. He fell in a combat between the Parians and the Naxians, by the hand of one Callondas, surnamed Corax, or the Raven. From the circumstance of his having been on this occasion engaged in the Parian service, it has been inferred, but with no sufficient reason, that he had quitted Thasos in disgust, and resettled in his native island. It was quite natural that, in any war of importance, colonial warriors should appear as allies of the parent state. The author of his death, if the tale may be trusted, having occasion to visit Delphi, was ordered off the sacred precinct by the Pythoness, as an unclean thing, stained with the blood of the favourite minister of the Muses, and was obliged to expiate his crime by necromantic rites at the Tartarian cave of Cape Tænarus.[1] It is time, however, to revert from the character of Archilochus as a man to his claims to celebrity as a poet.

His genius and that of Homer, in their parallel and their contrast.

8. The fact that the concurrent voice of antient criticism should have ranked Homer and Archilochus conjointly as the standard representatives of Greek poetical genius, while involving an apparent enigma, supplies at the same time the best data for its solution, by affording the clearest insight into the sources of so high, and on first view so little warranted, an estimate of the merits of the Parian satirist.

The features common to both poets are originality of conception, deep knowledge of human nature and character, and a consequent power of identifying themselves with the passions, the prejudices, or the

[1] Heraclid. Polit. VIII.; Plut. De Ser. Num. Vind. p. 560; Suid. v. Ἀρχίλ.; Dio Chrys. vol. II. p. 5. Reisk.; conf. alios ap. Lieb. p. 44. sq.

sensibilities of their public ; a vivid apprehension of the varied features of irrational nature, animate or material ; with taste and facility in the adaptation of those features to the illustrative element of their text. The analogy between the two may be summed up as consisting in the fulness with which each combined the intellectual with the mechanical resources of his art, and the consequent near approach of each to absolute perfection in the different branches of composition which the opposite bent of their genius led them respectively to prefer.

In estimating the special characteristics by which each was distinguished, Homer's enlarged faculty of poetical combination, being inherent in his character of epic poet, as distinct from that of Archilochus as lyric poet, can hardly be taken into account. But, apart from this, Homer ranks obviously far above the Parian, in the essentially superior order and quality of his muse; in the pure and elevated tone of his moral sentiment; in the genial philanthropy which glows in every page of his two great works, through all their vicissitudes of subject and treatment; and in his fine sense of the pathetic in all its modifications, from the "soul-devouring" resentment of the insulted warrior to the tender sorrows of the heart-broken female. The moral charm of his poetry also consists mainly in adorning what is generous and amiable in conduct and character. Vice and crime are admitted into Homer's groups only in so far as required to enhance, by the force of contrast, the beauty of his more pleasing portraits.

In Archilochus these more amiable attributes were replaced by a sterner, gloomier, but no less penetrating view of life and action. His power of ethic

portraiture lay chiefly in giving breadth and prominence to the darker shades and fouler features of human character. These he embodied with a reality of form, a power of dramatic effect, and a pungent vein of irony singularly adapted, when combined with all the secondary graces of poetical style, to arrest the sympathies of a Hellenic public. Homer's satire (for he too deals largely in it at times) is playful and innocent, free from morbid gloom or misanthropy; that of Archilochus was poisoned with deadly malice, keen, bitter, and withering. The perversity of his genius which led him to employ his satirical talents so largely in the indulgence of his own vindictive passions also tended, there can be no doubt, greatly to increase the interest and popularity of the moral and ethic ingredients of his compositions, by the more vivid reality of effect imparted to them. The doctrines he inculcates, whether in lashing vice or commending virtue, seemed thus identified with his own inmost thoughts and feelings, instead of being delivered in the usual dry didactic forms of abstract precept. Another remarkable feature in the wayward mass of eccentricities which make up the genius or the dæmon of his extraordinary character, was the clear appreciation of the really great and excellent which gleams through his own base preference of the vicious and grovelling. Both the testimony of the antients and the remains of his works supply abundant proof that, if neither a practiser of virtue himself, nor a genuine admirer of its beauty, no one better understood it, or possessed a more vigorous power of inculcating it in theory. His slanderous imputations thus came forth doubly armed, by the plausibility with which his

thorough experience of vice enabled him to dress them up, and by the apparent zeal for the cause of virtue by which they were animated.

The high esteem in which the philosophical element of his poetry was held by the antients is amply vouched for by the title of "wisest of poets," conferred on him by Plato, the wisest of Greek philosophers. The rule of judgement by reference to which this distinction was awarded is very distinctly laid down in a passage of Dio Chrysostom[1], which also contrasts, in a lively manner, the merits of Homer and of Archilochus in this particular: "How greatly superior even bitter vituperation, and the naked exposure of the mysteries of vice and iniquity, are to those discourses which tend rather to the praise and admiration of excellence, may be elucidated by the instance of the two poets who, among all that the world has ever produced, stand alone, far above the reach of rivalry or comparison, Homer and Archilochus. It was the habit of the former to eulogise everything, even animals and plants, earth and water, arms and horses. There is scarcely an object which he can be said to have passed over without some kind of commendatory notice, unless, indeed, Thersites be excepted, and even he is admitted to be a 'keen orator.' Archilochus took the opposite course of vituperating all things and all men, wherever opportunity occurred, and first of all himself; convinced that this was a far better sort of discipline for human nature. Hence alone of all men, both in his birth and his death, he has been honoured by the gods themselves with special testimonials to his excellence."

[1] Vol. ii. p. 5. Reisk.

The parallel between the two poets may be further extended to the advance, real or apparent, of the social, as well as poetical, genius of each beyond that of his age. In Homer, this peculiarity is chiefly observable in the intellectual element of his poetry, in his high standard of moral sentiment, his always lurking, often declared, contempt for the extravagance of the popular superstition, and his clear conception of many varieties of human character, the originals of which, in those days, might otherwise hardly have been supposed to exist. In Archilochus, the same feature displays itself in the expanded map of every-day life which he suddenly opens up. We are transplanted at once, in his page, from the courts and camps of patriarchal kings to the busy thoroughfares of an Ionian republic, and immersed in the familiar details of local or domestic interest proper to a complicated state of civilisation.

Redeeming traits of his moral character.

9. The antient critics, however, amid all their admiration for the great properties of Archilochus, were neither blind nor indulgent to his defects. The base purposes to which he too often prostituted his powers, and the scurrility which disfigured their exercise, are freely admitted and severely stigmatised.[1] That these considerations should in no instance have interfered with the unanimity of the verdict in favour of his transcendant poetical excellence, affords perhaps the most powerful evidence of the substantial justice of that verdict. Even the victims of his persecution are made, in the popular epigrams[2] allusive to their fate, to acknowledge the beauty, as well as terror, of the weapons with which

[1] Auctt. ap. Lieb. p. 38. sqq.

[2] Epigr. II. ap. Lieb. p. xii.

they were hunted down. It has also been remarked by his biographers[1], as another singular feature of his singularly compounded character, that his satire, however recklessly indulged within the range of his own social interests, was never wantonly turned against the great and excellent characters of his day, never against the objects of national worship, nor, if we may trust his own assurance[2], against the dead. This testimonial to the piety of his character is fully borne out by his extant remains. While his allusions to the gods in their more familiar capacity, however lively or jocund, are free from levity or disrespect, several of his solemn invocations of the Deity in the higher sense, are equal or superior in simple sublimity to any other compositions of the kind by Pagan poets. This is a characteristic which, in any parallel between his genius and that of Homer, would greatly tend to secure him the award of superior wisdom from Plato and his followers, whose chief cause of serious complaint against the epic bard was the levity with which he treats the national deities. The suspicions which may attach to the sincerity of the Parian poet's moral doctrines can scarcely apply to his religious sentiments. The combination of morbid but sincere religious feeling with depraved habits of life is a familiar feature of human superstition in every age. The same malignant sonnet which ruined the fair fame of an innocent female might invoke, with all the fervour of pious enthu-

[1] Aristid. vol. II. p. 293. Another redeeming feature, which will be duly appreciated by the modern censor in striking the balance of good and evil in his character, is the absence from his page of any allusion to those unnatural vices afterwards so prevalent among his countrymen.

[2] Frg. 41.

siasm, the aid of a patron divinity in giving effect to the blow; just as the Calabrian brigand stabs his victim with the one hand, while devoutly grasping a crucifix, or the image of his patron saint, in the other.

Personal individuality of his poetry.

There can be little doubt that one chief hold of Archilochus on the minds of his countrymen was the singularly distinct manner in which the eccentricity of his own character was reflected in his writings. This has already been pointed out as a source of interest peculiar to lyric poetry; and it is one nowhere perhaps so strikingly exemplified as in the works of Archilochus. If Homer represent the ideality or "objectivity" of the early Greek Muse, Archilochus may claim to represent her reality or "subjectivity." In Homer, the man is completely absorbed in the poet; in Archilochus, the poet exists but in the man. His whole existence, in action or suffering, even those thoughts or deeds which other men most studiously conceal, were emblazoned by himself on his page. The naked truth of the portrait makes amends for its want of poetical dignity. Even Homer or Shakspeare could hardly have ventured to present his public, in a fictitious character, with so strange a compound of ethic anomalies, such a blending of capacity for virtue with preference for vice, of the highest range of intellectual power with the lowest standard of moral principle; such a brilliant exemplification, in fine, of the adage, "Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor," as was embodied in the character of Archilochus. The attempt, if made, would probably have been censured as far-fetched or unnatural. Here the portrait appears in as broad colours of reality as that of Nestor or Falstaff.

Modern commentators would discover another source of this poet's great popularity in the peculiarly national genius of his muse, and in the vital reality with which he shadows forth, in his own life and habits, the characteristic defects and vices of his Ionian fellow-countrymen. To this view, however, few critical readers, it is believed, will be ready to subscribe. The poetical genius of Archilochus is, no doubt, in its variety, taste, and precision, essentially Greek. But his personal character cannot, in its eccentricities, be considered as in any respect typical of that of his race. The more prominent characteristics of Hellenism, especially of Ionian Hellenism, are, a buoyant gaiety of temper; a constitutional indifference to the evils of life, combined with energy in struggling against them; a large stock of personal vanity, and a consequent ambition to turn every talent, good or bad, to the best account in the estimation of the public. All or most of these features are reversed in the case of Archilochus, giving place to gloomy discontent, morbid apathy, and reckless disregard of public opinion. Were the point fairly open to such subtle speculations, the source of ethic interest in his character might, perhaps, better be sought in the contrast between its properly Hellenic side and that which reflects the servile, possibly Asiatic, blood of his mother.

The complete identity between the personal and the poetical character and feelings of Archilochus, or rather the absorption of the latter in the former, is curiously illustrated by the neglect or indifference displayed by him towards subjects of history or fable not immediately connected with his own times or sphere of interests. In the several hundred extant

passages or citations of his text, scarcely three or four allusions to such subjects can be detected, among the multitude to matters of local or present importance. In one place[1] he refers, although, it would appear, in a purely illustrative or incidental mode, to the punishment of Tantalus. The version of this legend followed by him corresponded with that of the Cyclic Nosti, in adding a superincumbent rock to the other burthens or hardships inflicted on the famishing voluptuary. The remainder of his mythological notices were all comprised, probably, in his epinician ode to Hercules. They described the hero's combat with Achelous, first represented by Archilochus as a bull, and the punishment inflicted on the centaur Nessus.[2]

Originality and fertility of his inventive genius.

10. In originality and fertility of inventive genius, as displayed in the characteristic forms of composition or style proper to his own branch of art, Archilochus may also venture to compete with his great epic rival. Hitherto the national poetry, in so far as deemed worthy of culture or preservation, had been limited to the simplest and most primitive poetical forms; to the heroic minstrelsy, in the proper sense, with the comparatively tame, though pleasing, didactic epos of Hesiod. The patriotic appeals of Callinus, admitting their prior date, form no real exception; as little the occasional attempts at the comic or satirical, as represented by the Margites, if, indeed, here also a genuine priority be conceded. Such was, hitherto, the hold of the more dignified Muse on the public taste, that even the burlesque only ventured to prefer a claim to popularity under mock-heroic disguise. One comprehensive style or school of poetry

[1] Frg. 46. [2] Frgg. 134, 135.

could thus alone be said to exist in Greece up to the close of the eighth century B.C., a style of a fundamentally serious character, and now in a state of decay. Suddenly there arises a new Homer, of an inferior, but in his own sphere equally brilliant, order of genius, who carries at once to perfection a department of poetry, the vital principle of which is its identity with the social and domestic interests of a more advanced and complex state of civilisation. All the elementary styles or orders of popular lyric composition appear to start forth at once, from the genius of Archilochus, like Pallas from the head of Jove, in the full vigour of youth. Although the antient critics dwell chiefly on his satirical pieces, yet, judging both from the unqualified praise bestowed by them on his collective works, and from extant specimens, there can be no doubt that he excelled in the plaintive elegy, the playful epigram, the exciting war-song, the religious hymn, even the amorous sonnet, little less than in the biting pasquinade or scurrilous lampoon. Specimens of all are found in his preserved remains; and the fact that the bulkier passages in the collection are limited solely or chiefly to subjects of a more agreeable tenor, implies, that such of his entire poems as were devoted to subjects of the same class formed, with more discriminating critics, his chief title to admiration. His treatment of this variety of matter seems, in each individual requisite of numbers, expression, or ideal embellishment, to have approached, as nearly as can be expected from any effort of human genius, to absolute perfection. Quintilian[1], in describing his empha-

[1] Inst. Or. x. i. 60.

tic diction and vigorous periods, "teeming with blood and nerve," adds: "So unexceptionable was his whole composition, that whatever deficiencies might be detected were to be attributed less to his own fault than to that of his materials." Even the scandal of his licentious sallies was masked by the elegant forms which they assumed. His language, however, like his subject, seldom departs widely from the range of ordinary life, being marked by that "medium genus dicendi," so justly appreciated and praised by the antients; that native ease and simplicity of expression which most effectually bring home every object or idea to the apprehension. His figures are of the didactic or parabolic rather than the purely ornamental class; couched in the form of metaphor rather than direct comparison. Of similes, in the technical sense, the existing passages of his works offer no example. While less copious in his use of the conventional or commonplace class of epithets than the poets of the old epic school, he does not disdain their aid; and some of these combinations are so plainly modelled after Homer, both in the phrases employed and in the mode of their application, as to prove that the varied fertility of his own genius was guided by a habitual deference to that of his great predecessor.[1] His dialect is substantially the same as Homer's, with fewer antiquated forms, and otherwise slightly modified, to suit the more familiar tenor of his own composition.

Details of style and imagery. Epithets. Dialect.

11. The inventive powers of Archilochus are no less preeminent in the mere mechanical, than in the

Metrical element of

[1] Such are, in frg. 55., πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης; 56., θοῆς νηός, οἶνον ἐρυθρόν, κοίλων κάδων; 33. χθονὶ μελαίνῃ; 31. ἠχήεντα κύματα; 62. πολιῆς ἁλός, &c. K. O. Müller, therefore (Hist. Gr. Lit. p. 139.), has greatly misconceived this as well as some other characteristics of the style of Archilochus.

higher ethic or poetical, attributes of his art. Without giving him the credit which he enjoys in the popular accounts, as inventor of all the spirited forms[1] of metrical arrangement which first appeared in his page, it results, in some degree, from the similar variety of styles of composition first brought by him into vogue, that he was the originator of many of those forms, and that all were indebted to him for much of their early cultivation and subsequent popularity. Clear examples remain in his works of the iambic, trochaïc, elegiac, dactylic, and anapæstic metres. The others ascribed to him by his commentators, but of which few if any distinct specimens have been preserved, are the choriambic[2] and Ionic. Besides the single verses of various length and cadence into which the five first-mentioned simpler metres are arranged, they are occasionally combined into those epodes or short strophes also said to be his invention, and in which he greatly delighted. To these strophes may also be numbered the verses commonly entitled Asynartete (disjointed), which, though forming in all essential respects a distich or couplet[3], it has been customary, for what precise reason does not appear, to write in one continuous line. His claims to an absolute priority of invention in regard to either the elegiac or iambic measures have already been shown to be but slender. He was, however, there can be little doubt, the first to develope the full power of the iambic trimeter, the most excellent and popular variety of the latter. Nor is there any ground for questioning his having originated, or first

his composition.

[1] See Lieb. p. 24. sqq. et Auctt. ap. eund.

[2] But conf. frgg. 98. 100. 102.

[3] Hephæst. p. 83. Gaisf.; conf. Lieb. p. 138.

brought into classical use, many of the more properly lyric modifications of the iambic, trochaïc, and other metres, and their combination into those concise stanzas or epodes which are first found exemplified in his poems.

In the arrangement of his iambic or trochaïc dipodia, Archilochus avails himself, though less freely than the Attic poets, of the familiar expedients of solution[1] and common syllable for imparting variety to those metres. In his elegiac measure he is less scrupulous than other contemporary poets, Callinus or Tyrtæus, in the mechanical adaptation of the pauses of the metrical to those of the poetical text. In passages of a more energetic or excited tenor he even takes pleasure in disturbing this rigid law of propriety, as if to suit the genius of the text to that of the subject.

Although Archilochus can scarcely rank as a professional musician, his inventions even in that branch of art form part of his claims to celebrity as an original genius. The most prominent of these inventions was that called Paracataloge, a term of some obscurity. According to its most probable interpretation, it would seem to indicate a prolongation, sometimes, of the rhythm and musical accompaniment of a lyric text beyond the natural limits of the written words; at other times, an excess of the words beyond the rhythm; in each case, with the object of adding to the pathos or impressive effect of the performance.[2] He is also said to have first introduced

[1] K. O. Müller's statement, that he "did not admit resolutions of the long syllables" (Hist. Gr. Lit. p. 136.), is contradicted by almost every iambic or trochaïc passage of any length in the collection.

[2] Plut. de M. xxviii.; Aristot. Probl. xix. vi.; Phillis ap. Athen. xiv. p. 636.

a more accurate rule of distinction as to what styles of iambic composition should be sung to a set air or form of melic accompaniment, what merely recited to the chords of the lyre, in the style of the old epic minstrelsy.[1]

Classification of his works.

In the preserved passages of his works there is no trace of any fixed rule for the allotment of certain metres to the treatment of certain subjects.[2] Considering how commonly the satirical tendency of his muse is coupled by the antient critics with his preference for the iambic verse, his imputed invention of which is even described by Horace and Ovid as a device for sharpening the lash of his satire, symptoms of some such observance might have been expected in regard at least to his satirical compositions. No definite line, however, can here be drawn, although, upon the whole, a preference may be discovered for the iambic in the satirical, for the trochaïc or elegiac in the graver passages. Any very strict rule of distinction would, indeed, have been incompatible with the free treatment of every variety of subject by such a genius as Archilochus. While the emphatic point of the iambic cadence might at times be adapted to a more serious style, the rapid flow of the trochaïc might often be most favourable to the outpourings of virulent invective. This observation is, in fact, borne out in regard to each measure, both by antient authority and extant examples.[3]

The remains of the trochaïc and elegiac order com-

[1] Plut. de M. XXVIII.

[2] The whole number of preserved verses amounts to upwards of two hundred: of these about forty-five may be numbered to the pure iambic order, sixty to the trochaïc, forty-five to the elegiac, and fifty to the epodes. The most complete collection is that of Bergk.

[3] Hermog. de Form. Or. II. p. 383. ed. Laur.; conf. frg. 48. sqq.

prise not only the graver, but the bulkier specimens of the muse of Archilochus. The trochaïc passages are, upon the whole, the most vigorously conceived and expressively worded. Those in elegiac measure are, as usual with its earlier cultivators, chiefly of a mournful, partly also of a martial character. Few are marked by the satirical tone which predominates in the iambics. All the existing specimens of a properly scurrilous or indecent tenor are in the latter measure. The epodes are also for the most part of a sarcastic turn; where, however, the metre of these stanzas has a more flowing cadence, they seem to have been occasionally preferred, like the Sapphics of the Æolian school, for softer amorous strains, comprising, as they do, the greater part of the few passages of this more delicate nature. No notice has been transmitted of any classification of the works of Archilochus with reference to subject or style, or even of any subdivision of them into books, by the grammarians of later times. The orders of composition incidentally mentioned as cultivated by him are, elegies, epigrams, "Iobacchi;" and, more vaguely, with reference to measure rather than subject, iambics, trochaïcs, epodes.[1] The only poems cited under specific titles are, an epinician ode or pæan to Hercules, a hymn to Ceres, and a poem entitled the Shipwreck. The ode to Hercules was still performed at Olympia in Pindar's time[2], as the standard common hymn in honour of the successful athlete, on his being crowned victor. It was distinguished by a burden or epode, still in part extant, imitating in a very happy manner the sound of the harp, and which enjoyed an extraordinary vogue and popularity in

[1] Lieb. p. 45.

[2] Pind. Ol. IX. 1., conf. Schol. ad loc.; Gaisf. frg. LX.; Lieb. p. 182. sqq.

later times. The hymn to Ceres obtained the prize in the Parian festival of that goddess[1], in honour of which victory Archilochus is said to have composed his triumphal pæan to Hercules. The Shipwreck[2] was an elegy on the death of a favourite brother-in-law, several fine passages of which have been preserved.

His genius illustrated by his remains.

12. Any attempt to trace the nicer characteristics of the muse of Archilochus in his extant remains must be a comparatively thankless undertaking; yet those remains afford, in their very imperfection, a species of internal evidence of the excellence of his genius. In the case of no other author whose entire works have perished do such detached citations convey a more distinct apprehension of the general tone, or even of the graces of detail, by which the integral text was distinguished. That Archilochus had deeply studied the works and imbibed the spirit of Homer, is evident from the number of passages in which traces of imitation, or even of plagiarism, from the Iliad and Odyssey can be detected; although the pirated texts[3] are so happily accommodated to his own verse as to acquire all the effect of genuine novelty. No less conclusive is the evidence of the extent to which he has, in his turn, been studied and copied by his successors, from the days of his own younger contemporary, Thaletas[4], down to the latest posterity.[5] A large, perhaps the larger, portion of his remains consists of texts which had suggested themselves to the critics who quote them, as the originals of

[1] Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1762.

[2] Longin. x. 7.; conf. Lieb. frgg. 55. 60. sqq.

[3] Conf. Lieb. frgg. 28. 32. 38. 41, 42.

[4] Plut. de Mus. x.

[5] Sappho, Anacreon, Æschylus, Euripides, Aristophanes, Theognis, Cratinus, alii ap. Lieb. frgg. 2, 3, 4. 32. 48, 49. 58. 63. 69. 73.; Gaisf. frgg. XVIII. XXVI. LIX. LXIII.

passages commented by them in the works of subsequent authors. Another remarkable feature of these fragments is the number of occasions on which, or of authors by whom, in still extant passages, many of them have been cited, several by not less than ten or twelve. Not a few, it is evident, had passed into proverbs, or become inveterate as poetical commonplaces, the best and surest test of wide-spread influence in any author.

Among the passages deserving of special comment, attention may be directed to the seven lines of trochaïc tetrameter, containing an address to his own soul or heart, and finely illustrating both the higher attributes of his style and the spirit of his morbid philosophy:[1]

Θυμὲ, θύμ', ἀμηχάνοισι κήδεσιν κυκώμενε,
ἄνεχε· δυσμενέων δ' ἀλέξευ προσβαλὼν ἐναντίον
στέρνον· ἐν δοκοῖσιν ἐχθρῶν πλησίον καταστα θεὶς
ἀσφαλέως· καὶ μήτε νικῶν ἀμφάδην ἀγάλλεο·
μηδὲ νικηθεὶς ἐν οἴκῳ καταπεσὼν ὀδύρεο.
ἀλλὰ χαρτοῖσίν τε χαῖρε, καὶ κακοῖσιν ἀσχάλα
μὴ λίην· γίγνωσκε δ' οἷος ῥυθμὸς ἀνθρώπους ἔχει.

My soul, my soul, by cares past all relief
Distracted sore, bear up! with manly breast,
And dauntless mien, each fresh assault of grief
Encountering. By hostile weapons pressed,
Stand firm. Let no unlooked for triumph move
To empty exultation; no defeat
Cast down. But still let moderation prove
Of life's uncertain cup the bitter and the sweet.

A keen sensibility to the ills of life is here combined with a haughty spirit of endurance, and a determination, as eloquently enforced as it was little observed, to preserve an equable frame of mind in every change of destiny, for good or for evil. The language, while

[1] Frg. 32.

rich and flowing, is yet marked by a terseness and a tone of gloomy severity in good keeping with the sentiment. The student of Homer will at once recognise the parallel, for there is here no trace of plagiarism, between the appeal of Archilochus to his own soul in the opening lines, and the similar series of images, in the 20th Book of the Odyssey.[1] This species of self-dialogue would seem, from other passages[2], to have been a no less favourite mode with Archilochus of giving vent to his own excited feelings, than with Homer of dramatising those of his heroes. The mingled spirit of stern endurance, philosophic resignation, and morbid despair, which dictated these lines, gives place, on other occasions, to a more reckless tone, and to a resolution to drown sorrow in sensual enjoyments. "These," he says, "will at least not "aggravate the pressure of an affliction beyond the "aid of tears to mitigate."[3]

In the following text, quoted by Aristotle, he repudiates the vice of envy, and asserts his own independance of spirit in a very animated strain:[4]

οὔ μοι τὰ Γύγεω τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει·
οὐδ' εἶλέ πώ με ζῆλος, οὐδ' ἀγαίομαι
θεῶν ἔργα· μεγάλης δ' οὐκ ἐρῶ τυραννίδος·
ἀπόπροθεν γάρ ἐστιν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐμῶν. . . .

What 's Gyges or his gold to me!
His royal state or rich array?
From envy's taint my breast is free,
I covet no proud tyrant's sway.
I envy not the gods in heaven!
The gods to me my lot have given.
That lot, for good or ill, I 'll bear,
And for no other man's I care. . . . .

[1] xx. 17.
[2] Conf. frg. 103.; Aristot. ap. Lieb. ad loc.
[3] Frg. 60. Lieb.
[4] Frg. 2.

In another passage he has borrowed, nearly to the letter, one of Homer's most spirited moral reflexions on the vanity of human wisdom or foresight, and the entire dependance of man on the Divine will, adapting it, by an easy and elegant transposition of terms, to his own favourite style of measure.[1] His sense of the power, wisdom, and providence of the Deity is finely displayed in various other fragments, especially in that noble address to Jupiter, where it is difficult to decide whether the simple grandeur of the conception or the force and beauty of the expression are most to be admired:[2]

ὦ Ζεῦ, πάτερ Ζεῦ, σὸν μὲν οὐρανοῦ κράτος,
σὺ δ' ἔργ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ὁρᾷς,
λεωργὰ καὶθέμιστα· σοὶ δὲ θηρίων
ὕβρις τε καὶ δίκη μέλει.

Jove, father Jove, o'er heaven and earth who reign'st,
In power divine, supreme, alone;
To thee each dark unrighteous deed of man,
Each wayward mood of fowl or brute is known.

His tact in apprehending and describing character is displayed in his summary of the qualifications he requires or prefers in a military commander; a passage[3] worthy of the best pages of Aristophanes, or it might rather, perhaps, be said that Aristophanes offers similar passages worthy of Archilochus; for there can be no doubt that the Attic satirist not only borrowed many of his humorous conceits from the text of his Parian predecessor, but was largely indebted to it in the formation of his general style. Of the properly satirical vein of composition, which formed, in the popular estimation, the chief groundwork of the Parian poet's fame, the preserved speci-

[1] Frgg. 38. 47.; conf. Bergk. ad frg. 65.
[2] Frg. xvii. Gaisf.; conf. xv.
[3] Frg. 34.

mens, though in considerable number and replete with point and spirit, are for the most part so short and fragmentary, as to supply comparatively slender criteria for estimating his full powers in that department. They suffice, at least, to show the copiousness and power of the Greek scandalous vocabulary of the day, and the boldness and skill with which Archilochus turned it to his purpose. Judging from the stock of specimens transmitted in his remains, his collection of such phraseology must, in its integrity, have rivalled even that of Aristophanes. If not superior in number, it certainly appears to have surpassed that of the Attic satirist in originality, point, and elegance, if, indeed, such a term be here admissible. His opprobrious facts or images are more rarely than those of Aristophanes exhibited in their naked and literal grossness, but are shrouded for the most part under some figurative disguise, in a manner often displaying, no less distinctly than the chaster sallies of his sarcastic Muse, the fertility and ingenuity of his imaginative faculty. Several of his more agreeable pasquinades appear to have belonged to that primitive species of allegory already employed by Hesiod, and which afterwards formed a separate branch of didactic literature, under the title of Æsopic fable. The following fragment of a satirical ode against a certain Cerycides is a characteristic though meagre specimen, both of his mode of working up his humorous apologues, and of his epodic measure:[1]

ἐρέω τιν' ὑμῖν αἶνον, ὦ Κηρυκίδη,
ἀχνυμένη σκυτάλη.[2]
πίθηκος ἦ̈ει θηρίων ἀποκριθεὶς
μοῦνος ἀν' ἐσχατιήν.

[1] Frg. 68.

[2] On the σκυτάλη see infra, Ch. vii.

τῷ δ' ἄρ' ἀλώπηξ κερδαλῆ συνήντετο,
πυκνὸν ἔχουσα νόον. . . .

A tale I have to tell thee, O Cerycides,
Unpleasant though it be.
An ape once took a thought to live more at his ease,
Remote, from visits free,
Of neighbour beasts. It soon however so fell out,
That on his solitude,
A fox that used to roam the country round about,
Untimely did intrude . . . .

In another of these apologues, afterwards embodied in the Æsopic collection, the poet figures himself, in his dealings with Lycambes, as a fox who contracted alliance with an eagle, by whom he is betrayed, but whose treachery in the end involves his own ruin and that of his offspring.[1] His elegant comparison of himself, in his capacity of open-mouthed satirist, to a wood-cricket[2] has already been noticed. Elsewhere he likens the self-defensive terrors of his sarcastic Muse to a hedgehog, whose "one great resource" (ἓν μέγα), rolling itself up in its bristles, "is worth all the devices of more nimble "and powerful animals."[3] Some of his amorous effusions combine the terse simplicity of his ordinary style with an impassioned brilliancy of sentiment and expression. Even here, where it were least to be expected, he has furnished models of imitation to the most distinguished professional votaries of the amatory branch of art. Several of the most admired images of Sappho are copied or paraphrased from still extant passages of Archilochus.[4] Of his less gloomy tone of plaintive composition some fine examples also remain, derived apparently from his

[1] Frg. 67.; Fab. Æsop. I. [2] Frg. 125.; Lucian. ap. Lieb. ad loc.
[3] Frg. 74.; conf. 48. 123. p. 228.
[4] Frgg. 69. 83. Lieb.; XXIV. XXVI. Gaisf. et nott. ad loc.

poem on the Shipwreck. The remains of his convivial songs are equally distinguished by the proper characteristics of such compositions, ease, elegance, and vivacity.

Among the noblest of his images derived from inanimate nature is his illustration of the impending calamities of some ill-fated city by a heavy mass of thunder clouds overhanging a ridge of mountains, while a storm sweeps across the surface of the neighbouring sea.[1] That Archilochus was extensively engaged in nautical as well as military adventure is evinced by the number of preserved passages descriptive of each, all excellent in their kind, and several of them rivalling the best parallel texts of the Iliad or Odyssey.

Remarks on the loss of his entire works.

13. Of all the disasters to which the collective body of Greek poetical literature has been exposed, in its passage to posterity, by the ravages of time or barbarism, the loss of the entire works of Archilochus is the most to be deplored. A familiarity with poems entitling their author, alone among so many noble competitors, to rank, by the unanimous judgement of his native critics, on the same level with Homer, would, in any case, be essential to a right appreciation of the extent or power of Greek genius. But the peculiarity of the circumstances under which, in this particular case, the honour has been awarded, in spite, it may be said, rather than by favour, of so many of the qualifications usually considered indispensable to the attainment of so high a distinction, renders the loss the more obvious and the more irreparable.

It may hardly be allowable, considering that the same fate is common to so many other distinguished

[1] Frg. 36. Lieb.

poets of this period, Sappho, Alcæus, Stesichorus, to search for more special causes of the calamity in the individual instance of Archilochus. There can, however, be little doubt that, in his case, the same eccentricity which constituted one of the most valuable attributes of his genius, and his chief title to superiority of rank over so many illustrious rivals, also formed a main source of the ruin in which the fruits of that genius have been involved. In the early ages of Christianity, during the controversies carried on between the promoters of the new faith and the adherents of the antient Paganism, the life, character, and writings of Archilochus supplied the former with some of their most formidable weapons of polemical attack. Passages are still extant in the works of the early fathers[1], commenting, in a very lively and effective, sometimes almost Archilochian, vein of satire, on "the purity and dignity of a religion and a race of deities, by the most exalted of whose divine organs one of the most reckless unblushing reprobates that ever existed was pronounced a superhuman being and the favoured servant of the gods, merely because he possessed in a high degree the faculty of amusing the worshippers of those gods by an ingenious turn for scurrility, at the expense of the lives and happiness of his fellow-citizens. The destroyer of such a servant of such gods," it is added, "was justly excommunicated by their ministers as a profane and sacrilegious person!" Such was the success of these taunts, as to provoke the Emperor Julian[2], in a like spirit of zeal, as defender of the antient faith, to proscribe the works of

[1] Origen. adv. Cels. III. p. 125. ed. Cantab. 1677; Euseb. Præp. Ev. v. xxxiii. p. 228.

[2] P. 300. ed. Lips. 1696.

the Parian poet, in so far as to interdict their perusal to all persons aspiring to the sacerdotal office, or otherwise pretending to piety or sanctity of life and character. In the early days of monkish zeal and barbarism, the law of proscription, which attached to the works of profane poets generally, was equally sure, under the above circumstances, to be enforced, on the part of the Christian censorship of the day, with special rigour against Archilochus. That a single copy of poems exposed to this two-edged weapon of persecution should have survived was hardly to be expected.[1]

SIMONIDES OF AMORGOS. 693 B. C.

Simonides of Amorgos.

14. Simonides of Amorgos[2], commonly called the Iambographer, who shares with Archilochus the honour of "inventing" the iambic trimeter[3], has pretensions to remote antiquity little inferior, if not equal, to those of the Parian poet.[4] His joint claim, therefore, as inventor may perhaps be conceded to the extent of his having selected that measure con-

[1] Alcyonius, an Italian writer of the fifteenth century, states, on the authority of Demetrius Chalcondylas, that the later Byzantine emperors, in the fervour of their religious zeal, had caused to be destroyed the poems of Alcman, Alcæus, Sappho, Erinna, Mimnermus, Anacreon, Menander, and of other licentious Greek authors. As no mention occurs of Archilochus, it may be presumed that his works had been already disposed of. (De Exilio, ed. Lips. 1707, p. 69.)

[2] Conf. Welcker, Simonidis Iambi, Rhein. Mus. 1835, p. 353.; Bergk, Poett. lyrr. p. 500.; Schneidewin, Delect. Poes. Gr. sect. II. p. 196.; Gaisford, Poett. minn. ed. Lips. vol. III. p. 209. The passages are quoted according to the arrangement of Bergk, unless where another collection is specified.

[3] Suid. v. Σιμωνίδης. Anon. ap. Welck. op. cit. p. 354.

[4] Clem. Alex. Str. I. p. 333.; conf. Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. I. p. 177. sqq.

temporaneously as the organ of his satirical humour, and having thus contributed to its establishment as a cultivated branch of composition. He occupies, accordingly, the next place to Archilochus in the Alexandrian canon of iambic poets.[1] The particulars of his life and character also present, whether from accident or the caprice of popular tradition, in some leading points, a near analogy to the history of Archilochus. Like Archilochus, Simonides was the leader of a colony from his native island of Samos to the smaller one of Amorgos[2], from which he derives his title, and where he is said to have founded three cities, one of which, called Minoa, he selected as his residence. Like Archilochus, he was of a bitterly sarcastic disposition, which also found vent in iambic pasquinades. Like Archilochus, he is said to have had a favourite butt for his invectives, one Orodœcides[3], who thus stood to his satirical muse in the same relation as Lycambes to that of the Parian poet. As, however, neither the cause nor the circumstances of the quarrel between the parties have here been recorded, nor any of the pieces in which Simonides endeavoured to uphold his side of the question have been preserved, the affair itself offers comparatively small matter of interest to the student of Greek literary history.

The father of Simonides is stated, on no very high authority, to have been named Crineus.[4] Besides his gentilic title of Amorgian, the son also familiarly bears that of the Iambographer[5], as well with reference

[1] Procl. Chrestom. Gaisf. p. 380.

[2] Steph. Byz. v. Ἀμοργός; Suid. v. Σιμμίας.

[3] Lucian. Pseudol. II.

[4] Suid. v. Σιμωνίδης.

[5] Strab. x. p. 487.; Steph. Byz. loc. sup. cit.; Procl. Chrest. p. 380. Gaisf.; conf. Welck. op. cit. p. 367.

to his style of composition, as in contradistinction to the later more elegant and more popular Cean poet of the same name. The latter, again, in addition to his surname of Cean, derived from his native island, bears the distinctive title of Melic poet. It might seem, on first view, more reasonable to interpret this distinction as relating merely to the prevailing character of the works of the two authors, than as implying, in the literal sense, that the poems of the elder Simonides were exclusively composed in iambic measure, those of his younger namesake in the elegiac, or the properly melic forms of lyric verse. The literal interpretation is, however, strongly borne out by the fact, that, while numerous passages in iambic trimeter, besides his acknowledged poem "On Women," are quoted under the name of Simonides the Iambographer, in no instance is any iambic text[1] possessing a fair claim to genuine character distinctly ascribed to his successor. The few iambic verses which pass indefinitely under the common name are also, with rare exception, so plainly marked by the proper characteristics of the Iambographer, as, on grounds of internal evidence, to leave no doubt of their being his composition. That his works were

[1] The only three iambic fragments usually comprised among the remains of Simonides of Ceos, and which, from internal evidence, could not have emanated from his more antient namesake of Amorgos, must on the same ground be discarded from either collection, as equally incompatible with the age of the Cean poet. Neither Scopas the sculptor, celebrated in frg. LXXVII. Gaisf. (186. Bergk), nor Dionysius the Colophonian painter, in frg. LXXX. Gaisf., nor the Colossus of Rhodes, frg. LXXXV. Gaisf. (187. Bergk), could have been known to Simonides of Ceos. All three passages may, perhaps, be assigned to some one of the younger Simonidæ mentioned by Suidas. (Conf. Gaisf. Poett. minn. vol. III. ed. Lips. p. 157. note.) The collections of the two poets have been confounded in the older editions; the distinction has, however, been accurately drawn by the more recent editors, Welcker, Schneidewin, and Bergk.

exclusively limited to iambics is also probable.[1] While much the greater portion of the numerous elegiac or melic fragments which pass under the common title are distinctly ascribed by name to his successor, there is not one similarly allotted to himself; nor, among those not so definitely claimed for the Cean Simonides, are there any which, as collated with the ascertained productions of the Iambographer, could, on internal evidence, be properly ascribed to the latter poet. Upon the whole, therefore, in any distribution of the doubtful passages, the safest general rule must be to allot all the iambic passages extant under the common title Simonides to the poet of Amorgos, all those of an elegiac or purely melic character to his more celebrated namesake.

With the above limitation, the preserved works of this author are: a satirical poem or part of a poem, of considerable length, "On Women;" another shorter one, containing moral reflexions on the Vanity of Human Life; and a number of detached passages or fragments, for the most part also of a sarcastic or epigrammatic character.

His poem on Women.

15. The poem on Women[2] comprises a hundred and twenty lines. Its satire, as the name implies, is of a general rather than a personal tendency. It describes the various characters of women, as they appeared to the jaundiced eye of the author, under ten

[1] In the list of Suidas two books of elegies are ascribed to him. To this testimony, however, unsupported by other better authorities, but little weight can attach. Suidas has here probably, as in other parallel cases, confounded the two authors with each other, and with Simmias of Rhodes. Similar doubts attach to the "Samian Archæology" mentioned by Suidas; and to the trochaïc tetrameters alluded to by the anonymous grammarian cited in p. 173. But conf. Welck. op. cit. p. 357. sqq. Two books of iambics are mentioned by Athenæus, II. p. 57 D.; conf. Bekk. Anecd. Gr. vol. I. p. 105.

[2] Frg. 6.

heads, each of which is illustrated by the corresponding properties of certain animals or other objects, from which the different kinds of female, or rather of wife, are respectively figured to have derived their origin. These allegorical representatives of female attribute and character are, according to the descriptive order adopted by the satirist: 1. the Hog; 2. the Fox; 3. the Dog; 4. Mud, or Clay; 5. Sea water; 6. the Ass; 7. the Weasel; 8. the Blood-mare; 9. the Ape; 10. the Bee.

The first is dirty, grovelling, and sluttish: the second, cunning, versatile, and clever, for good or for evil: the third, an incorrigible scold, blustering, quarrelsome, and at the same time prying and suspicious: the fourth, sluggish, apathetic, and gluttonous: the fifth wayward and capricious, by turns pleasant and sulky, placid and choleric; charming when in good, insufferable when in bad, humour: the sixth, excellent at household work when forced to apply, but lazy, obstinate, and incontinent: the seventh, sullen, morose, and thievish, repulsive in person and manners: the eighth, the lady of fashion, despising housewifery, devoted to dress, the bath, and perfumes; a beautiful ornament of a royal or wealthy establishment, but ruinous to the husband of more humble rank. The ninth is hideous in person, sly, mischievous, and malicious. The tenth alone possesses all the qualifications of a good wife, and is the greatest blessing the gods can bestow on their favourites among mortals. The poem closes with a sort of epilogue, or general summary, characterising the female sex as, upon the whole, the chief bane of man's existence, and the married state as the most wretched of human lots.

Origin of Greek poetical satire against the female sex. Hesiod. Pandora.

This work possesses various strong claims on the attention of the student of early Greek literature. It is the only entire specimen of the style of didactic allegory to which it belongs. It is also the first distinct expression of that spirit of satire against the female sex which forms so characteristic a feature of the popular Greek poetry, from the earliest to the latest period. The allegorical mode in which the same spirit is expressed in the Hesiodic fable of Pandora, the first woman, and authoress of evil to the human race, connects itself very plainly, in the figurative cosmogony of Greece, with the Mosaic tradition of the Fall of man. Pandora is Eve. The vice and misery contained in her box, and which she scatters through the world, are described accordingly by Hesiod as the judgements of Jupiter on the human race, for having conspired with Prometheus against his divine authority. Prometheus, Forethought or Foreknowledge, is the same genius of presumptuous human self-sufficiency figured in the Mosaic system by the Serpent and the Tree of Knowledge.

The legend of Pandora, like others common to the two standard poems of Hesiod, appears in a far more genial form in the Works than in the Theogony.[1] In the former poem, Pandora, as distributrix of the contents of Jove's mystical box, appears as the foolish or even reckless agent, but not as the wilful cause, of ruin to her descendants. Nor has the poet, in the zeal of his satire, lost sight of the sounder maxim inculcated by him in other portions of his text, that, "although a bad wife is the worst of evils, a good wife is the best of blessings:"[2] and, among

[1] Works, v. 47. sqq.; Theog. 565. sqq. [2] Works, 700.

the numerous vices of his mythical type of female levity, she is at least endowed with the virtue of industry, so precious in the eyes of Hesiod.

In the Theogony, the more genial playful spirit of the allegory disappears. Pandora, deprived of her box, is there represented in her own proper person as the genius of all mischief, and as the mother of an equally reprobate race of daughters, who perpetuate unmitigated sin and misery among the sons of men. That Simonides had "Hesiod" in view in working up his own poem, appears both from the general tone of his allegory, and from his paraphrase, or almost transcript, of standard passages of the Bœotian poems.[1] He has conformed to the Works in the spirit of impartiality with which he has blended a certain ingredient of good with the predominant vices of his decad of heroines. He has followed the Theogony in the spirit of malignant exaggeration with which he has enlarged on their defects.

These three poems, especially those of the elder Hesiod and Simonides, have given the tone to all the Greek poetical pasquinades of the same class; and their more characteristic passages have been freely pirated and paraphrased by subsequent authors.

Another curious recognition of the title of the Greek fair sex to the honour of standard popular butt of the satirical muse of their ungallant lords, is to be found in the only extant fragment of Susarion, the founder of Grecian comedy. The passage sounds almost like an inaugural announcement of the spirit that was to animate the whole family of literature of which the author was the father.

[1] Frg. VII., conf. Works, 700. sq.; frg. V., conf. Theog. 612.

ἀκούετε, λεῲ· Σουσαρίων λέγει τάδε,
υἱὸς Φιλίνου, Μεγαρόθεν, Τριποδίσκιος·
κακὸν γυναῖκες! ....[1]

Hear, O ye people, these are the words of Susarion
Of Tripodiscus, Philinus's son, the Megarian:
Woman 's a curse!....

Style of the poem on Women.

16. The composition and style of the poem of Simonides, if judged by their proper standard, possess great merit, but have scarcely, perhaps, been appreciated as they deserve. The antient critics, indeed, although but few appeals are extant to the contents of the work, have shown at least their sense of the author's talent, by classing him in this department of art by the side of Archilochus, its greatest master. The existence of an abridged paraphrase of the poem by Phocylides[2] is also sufficient evidence of the esteem in which it was held. Among the moderns, on the other hand, it has generally been treated with greater neglect, or judged with less favour, than it deserves. Its satire is, indeed, not only bitter, but gross even to scurrility; and both plan and execution are remarkable for quaint eccentricity, rather than elegance. But the characters are ingeniously conceived and cleverly drawn; and the illustrations, though at times grotesque and coarse, evince fertility of inventive talent, and are, in the author's conception of his subject, spirited and apposite. The language, in addition to that primitive simplicity which always possesses its own peculiar charm, is terse and concise, and occasionally, where the style rises above its usual homely level, becomes even elegant. Among the best passages is the comparison of the fickle and

[1] Meinek. Fragm. Comm. Græcc. vol. II. p. 3.

[2] Phocyl. frg. 3. Bergk.

wayward female to the sea.[1] The few lines of simile illustrative of the different phases of that element are worthy of Sophocles or Homer. The description of the fine lady[2], and that of the sterling good and faithful spouse[3], also possess great merit; and the latter of the two shows that Simonides, like Archilochus, could appreciate virtue as well as satirise vice. The former passage is subjoined, as a specimen of the author's style:

τὴν δ' ἵππος ἁβρὴ χαιτέεσσ' ἐγείνατο
ἣ δούλι' ἔργα καὶ δύην περιτρέπει,
κ' οὔτ' ἂν μύλης ψαύσειεν, οὔτε κόσκινον
ἄρειεν, οὔτε κόπρον ἐξ οἴκου βάλοι·
οὔτε πρὸς ἰπνὸν, ἀσβόλην ἀλευμένη,
ἵζοιτ'· ἀνάγκῃ δ' ἄνδρα ποιεῖται φίλον.
λοῦται δὲ πάσης ἡμέρης ἄπο ῥύπον
δὶς, ἄλλοτε τρὶς, καὶ μύροις ἀλείφεται.
ἀεὶ δὲ χαίτην ἐκτενισμένην φορεῖ
βαθεῖαν ἀνθέμοισιν ἐσκιασμένην.
καλὸν μὲν οὖν θέημα τοιαύτη γυνὴ
ἀλλοισι· τῷ δ' ἔχοντι γίγνεται κακόν,
ἢν μή τις ἢ τύραννος ἢ σκηπτοῦχος ᾖ,
ὅστις τοιούτοις θυμὸν ἀγλαΐζεται.

Next in the lot a gallant dame we see,
Sprung from a mare of noble pedigree.
No servile work her spirit proud can brook;
Her hands were never taught to bake or cook;
The vapour of the oven makes her ill;
She scorns to empty slops or turn the mill.
No household washings her fair skin deface,
Her own ablutions are her chief solace.
Three baths a day, with balms and perfumes rare,
Refresh her tender limbs; her long rich hair

[1] 27. sqq. [2] 57. sqq. [3] 83. sqq.

Each time she combs, and decks with blooming flowers.
No spouse more fit than she the idle hours
Of wealthy lords or kings to recreate,
And grace the splendour of their courtly state.
For men of humbler sort, no better guide
Heaven, in its wrath, to ruin can provide.

The epilogue from v. 93. downwards, although the style and general character bespeak the composition of the same author, appears, in its present connexion with the remainder of the text, rather as an excrescence than as an integral part of the poem. It does little more than exaggerate, with some tasteless repetitions, the former train of philippic against the sex; and that most inappropriately, immediately after the passage admitting and enumerating the excellences by which their defects were counterbalanced. If to these considerations be added the fact, that the whole text is given, in the compilation of Stobæus[1], merely as one among numerous fragments of, or extracts from, a variety of poems satirising the character and habits of the female sex, the suspicion naturally arises that the compiler or his transcribers may have confounded into one two distinct extracts from the same author.

Other works of Simonides.

The tone of the other bulkier remnant of the muse of Simonides[2], in twenty-four lines, partakes more of morbid melancholy than of sarcasm. The text of the whole discourse is to be found in vv. 136, 137. of the XVIIIth book of the Odyssey, paraphrased in vv. 3—5 of the author's own poem, which is a commentary on the evils of human life, addressed to a young friend. The poet expatiates on the weakness and helplessness of man, on the vanity of his wisdom or power, and

[1] Stobæi Flor. LXXIII. [2] Frg. 1. Bergk.

on his dependance on the arbitrary will of the gods, in a tone of gloomy discontent rather than pious resignation. The fairest hopes, or most brilliant prospects, are described as but so many snares to entrap deluded mortals into disaster or disappointment. The whole sums up with the usual moral of such a tale: to beware of being unduly elated by prosperity, or cast down by adversity, and to study rather to preserve a stoical indifference to the concerns of life. This composition is marked by the same homely simplicity, and the same terseness of style, as the satire on women.[1]

The remaining fragments, of which, with the exception of one of three lines, none exceed a single distich, present the same peculiarities of manner and language as the two longer pieces. Here and there traces of Æsopic allegory are observable. The dialect of Simonides, while in its general tone the purest poetical Ionic of his age, presents not a few original and characteristic forms both of idiom and expression, proper, it may be presumed, to the Samian variety of his native tongue.[2] His versification, like his general style, is more remarkable for simplicity and vigour than for musical cadence. Like Æschylus, he takes pleasure in lines consisting of a few long words[3], as a means of imparting earnestness of effect. The iambic trimeter appears in his text in the simplest forms, rarely admitting even that legitimate amount of encroachment on the elementary principle of the measure authorised by its other standard cultivators. He is extremely

[1] In v. 23. of this passage, the correction of κακῶν into καλῶν seems obviously to be required.

[2] Conf. Welck. p. 370. sq.

[3] Frgg. VI. 40. 66. 118.

sparing in his solution of the long syllable[1], and seldom if ever allows the short syllable before mute and liquid. The extant verses offer but a single exception[2] to this latter rule, which even Homer does not hesitate freely to transgress.

TYRTÆUS. 680—660 B. C.

Tyrtæus.

17. The transition from the last two heads of subject to that treated in the present section transports us once more from the busy thoroughfares of an Ionian city into the heart of a camp of Homeric warriors. The remains of Tyrtæus, as compared with those of the Parian or the Amorgian poet, offer one among other examples that might be adduced, how fallacious in many cases must be the evidence derivable from those peculiarities of style, subject, or allusion, so much pressed by speculative critics as tests of the comparative age of authors or works. Tyrtæus, by reference to such criteria, and apart from the historical data which establish him as a younger contemporary of Archilochus, would naturally be classed as the more antient poet of the two. Of those varied pictures which the works of the latter present of the social condition of early republican Greece, from the business of the senate or forum down to the domestic squabble or the debaucheries of the brothel or beer-house, the pages of Tyrtæus offer not a vestige. With a uniformity of style amounting almost to

[1] But one example can be discovered in the extant fragments, and that in a doubtful reading (frg. 15. Bergk). In verses 1. and 43. of the longer passage a synizesis rather than solution may be assumed, as in many parallel passages of Archilochus.

[2] Before θν in v. 13. of frg. 1.

monotony, they are exclusively devoted to martial adventure, exhibiting an absence of all interest in the concerns of ordinary life, with an absorption of the individuality of the author in the enthusiasm for his subject scarcely surpassed in the case of Homer himself. Nowhere, accordingly, is there any allusion by Tyrtæus to his own personal history, the accounts of which, as transmitted in other quarters, are of a somewhat singular or even marvellous character.

His popular biography.

The most remarkable events in the political annals of European Greece, between the epoch of the Dorian settlement in Peloponnesus and the Persian invasion, were the two devastating wars waged between the leading states of that peninsula, the Spartans and Messenians. This long struggle, extending, with the intermediate interval, over nearly a century, ended in the subjugation of the latter people, and annexation of their territory by the victors to the Lacedæmonian state. The first war terminated in a treaty, the conditions of which were so oppressive to the Messenians, as to lead in the second generation afterwards to a renewal of the contest with still greater energy. At the outset the fortune of the war was now on the side of the Messenians, who, under the auspices of their hero Aristomenes, obtained so decided a superiority, as to induce the Spartans to have recourse to the Delphic oracle for advice in their emergency. The answer of the Pythoness was, that they should apply to the Athenians for a leader. A deputation was sent to Athens accordingly. The Athenians, with a view of defeating, in so far as in them lay, the favourable intentions of the oracle towards their formidable neighbours, and of indulging at the same time their face-

tious humour, made choice, as the legend bears, of a lame schoolmaster of the demus of Aphidnæ, hitherto as little distinguished for mental as bodily qualities, who was escorted with all due ceremony to Lacedæmon, and, in punctilious obedience to the terms of the oracle, installed in his high functions. The pedagogue, however, was not long in asserting both his own honour and the credit of the Pythoness. Such was the wisdom of his counsels, and so brilliant the poetical rhetoric by which he enforced them, as speedily to renovate the drooping courage of his new fellow-citizens, and turn the tide of success in their favour. The hero of this adventure, and of Sparta during the second Messenian war, was Tyrtæus.[1]

Nor was the influence of their new political chief confined to the military affairs of his adopted countrymen. It extended also to their domestic politics. On the Spartan arms regaining the ascendant in the field, the Messenians, by the desperate measures of defence to which they resorted, aggravated the evils of war to their adversaries by those of famine and civil dissension.[2] Avoiding pitched battles, they were content, from their stronghold Ira, situated not far from the Spartan frontier, to exercise a systematic brigandage, as well on the territory conquered from themselves as on the conterminous parts of Laconia. Seizing men and goods, they exacted high ransoms for their restoration; and, allowing the enemy to cultivate the soil, descended as harvest

[1] Pausan. IV. XV. sqq.; Justin. III. V.; Themist. Orat. XV. p. 197 D.; conf. Plat. Legg. p. 629 D.; Lycurg. contr. Leocr. § 28.; Philoch. et Callisth. ap. Strab. VIII. p. 362. According to Suid. v. Τυρταῖος, the poet's father's name was Archimbrotus.

[2] Pausan. IV. XVIII. sq.; Aristot. Polit. V. VI.

approached, and destroyed the crop or carried it off for their own use. This policy was met by the Spartan government with a decree, that, as the benefit derived from the culture of these lands was solely or chiefly enjoyed by the enemy, they should be allowed to lie waste. The consequence was a scarcity which, with the discontent of the owners of the deserted properties, led to a sedition, and to a clamour for the popular expedient of the Greek democracies in such cases, a new division of the lands of the state. The ferment thus created was allayed by the eloquence of Tyrtæus; an example of the power of music and poetry on the minds of those stern citizens, to be added to those already recorded of Terpander and Thaletas. Another reported exercise of his political influence was his having persuaded the Spartans, after a great defeat and carnage of their troops, to resort, for the first time, to the expedient of recruiting their army from the Helots.[1] This new force he inspired with such enthusiasm as to turn the tide of success in the next engagement.

Its authenticity.

18. The legend of the poet's origin and first connexion with Sparta, for the rest is all, in substance at least, historical fact, if occurring in the annals of some chivalrous war of our own middle ages, would not, perhaps, be exposed to any very severe scrutiny. The affair is characteristic of the relations between rival members of petty martial confederacies in primitive times, and might possibly find a parallel in the authentic chronicles of the Hanse towns or Italian republics. But the spirit of modern inquiry is less indulgent towards such traits of political romance in the corresponding periods of antient history; and

[1] Pausan. IV. xvi. 3.

the whole story has, in authoritative quarters, been rejected as fabulous. That it is, however, founded on fact in so far at least as respects the foreign origin of the poet, which forms the essence of the legend, seems to be conclusively established by the concurrent testimony of all the earliest and best authorities[1], inclusive of that of the Lacedæmonians themselves. Not only is there no notice of any attempt on their part to dispute the foreign birth of Tyrtæus, but, in one of the celebrated Laconian apophthegms[2] in the collection of Plutarch, Pausanias, the victor of Platæa, when asked why the Spartans had conceded to Tyrtæus the rights of citizenship, replies: "In order that no foreigner might appear ever to have held sway in Lacedæmon." That the Spartans would, had Tyrtæus really been a native Laconian, ever have sanctioned the alienation of so distinguished a national hero in their popular tradition, or that Plutarch, in a professed treatise on their character and institutions, should ever have placed such an acknowledgement of that hero's foreign birth in their mouth, is scarcely credible. The powerful influence of lyric song on the political destinies of Sparta during this period, is itself a no less certain fact than that she was indebted to foreigners rather than her own citizens for the exercise of that influence. There can, therefore, be as little real ground for denying a share of it to the Athenian Tyrtæus, as to the Lesbian Terpander or the Cretan Thaletas. The Athenians of later times would not be slow to turn the circumstance to satirical account, in favour

[1] Nor is there any trace of scepticism but in a single anonymous notice of Suidas (v. Τυρτ.), where Tyrtæus is called "a Milesian, or a Laconian;" while in another article of the same compilation the popular account is preferred.

[2] Plut. Apophth. Lac. p. 230.

of their boasted intellectual superiority to their Laconian rivals; and the story of an Attic man of letters restoring by his inspiring minstrelsy the fortunes of the Messenian campaign, might easily assume the turn of an "Athenian schoolmaster superior in the art of war to the Spartan generals." As to his lameness, the literal acceptation of the legend is at least as rational as the interpretation, itself certainly somewhat lame, suggested by modern critics, that the allusion is to the limping style of his pentameter verse.[1] It is also worthy of remark, that neither in his own poems nor in the current tradition is there any hint of actual military exploit performed by Tyrtæus. On the contrary, it is distinctly stated by the authorities who have preserved the most specific details of that tradition, that he remained with the priests and augurs in the rear of the battle during action, to encourage the troops in his capacity of counsellor and poet.[2] It were certainly somewhat strange that a Spartan hero, whether poet or private citizen, unless under some such peculiar circumstances of physical disqualification as those recorded in the legend for the most essential duties incumbent on every Spartan, should have obtained so high a celebrity merely by inculcating those duties, without being himself at all distinguished for their performance.

An argument, however, in favour of the indigenous Spartan origin of Tyrtæus has been adduced, with some hesitation by antient[3], more confidently by modern, critics[4], from an extant passage of his own works,

[1] Thiersch, Act. Monac. vol. III. p. 594. [2] Pausan. IV. xvi. 1.
[3] Strab. VIII. p. 362.
[4] Conf. Thiersch. op. cit. p. 600.; Bernhardy, Grundr. der Griech. Lit. vol. II. p. 344.

where, reminding his fellow-warriors of the martial feats of their Dorian ancestors, he uses the expressions "we" and "our," thus identifying, it is urged, his own origin with that of the audience whom he addresses. A sufficient answer to this argument is contained in the Laconian apophthegm above cited from Plutarch, where the republic is described as having conferred on the alien poet the unusual boon of a full right of citizenship, "in order that no foreigner might exercise authority over them." The language of the poet and of the apophthegm thus mutually illustrate each other. Tyrtæus, as an adopted son of Sparta, was not only entitled, but bound, to merge his foreign blood and associations in his new privilege. But, apart from any such testimony, even a less thoroughly naturalised foreigner, when once installed as the state poet and inspired organ of the national enthusiasm, could hardly be held, in his stirring addresses, to a rigid maintenance of the distinction between his own personal share in the common fund of patriotic feeling and that of his adopted countrymen. Whether a Spartan by birth or by adoption, he spoke henceforth not as Tyrtæus but as the Muse of Sparta; and the observance of any such subtleties as that here imagined, in the midst of his poetical fervour, could as little occur to himself as be expected by his public.

His age, character, works.

19. The age of Tyrtæus depends entirely upon that of the second Messenian war, in which he figures, and which is itself a doubtful point of chronology. Pausanias places the commencement of the war in the fourth year of the XXIIIrd Olymp., or 685 B.C.; other authorities bring that epoch, and by consequence the age of Tyrtæus, from forty to fifty years lower. The

point is one of some difficulty; but, upon the whole, a preference may be given to the testimony of Pausanias, both on its own merits, and in consideration of the peculiar care and zeal with which he has brought his habits of antiquarian research to bear upon the Spartan and Messenian history of this period. His view is also more in unison with the dates of other contemporary events incidentally connected with the vicissitudes of the war. As the struggle lasted, in round numbers, about twenty years, the poetical distinction of Tyrtæus, who first appears at a comparatively advanced period of it, may be placed between 680 and 660 B.C.[1]

The personal character of Tyrtæus, as exhibited in his remains, appears but a reflexion of the national genius of his adopted countrymen. Every sentiment or allusion may be said to embody some peculiarity, military or political, of that singular people. This attribute of his muse was warmly and durably appreciated on their part; and his works constituted in every age of the republic the most popular text-book of martial song, and the most approved standard of national and patriotic feeling.[2] Later grammarians allude to a division of them into five books[3], upon what principle does not appear. By earlier authorities they are classed, with reference to their subject, under three heads.[4] The first head comprised martial addresses or exhortations; the second consisted of odes of a political tendency, inculcating obedience to the laws, and maintenance of the Spartan consti-

[1] Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. i. p. 183. 251. sqq. See Appendix D.

[2] Lycurg. contr. Leocr. § 28.; Athen. xiv. p. 630.; Plat. de Legg. p. 629. 660. sq.; Plut. vit. Cleom. ii.; conf. Bach. op. cit. p. 54.

[3] Suid. v. Τυρταῖος.

[4] Pausan. iv. xv. 3.; Aristot. Pol. v. vi.; conf. Suid. v. Τυρτ.

tution and customs. The compositions of both these classes were in elegiac measure and Ionic dialect. The third head comprised war marches (enoplia, embateria), in anapæstic measure and Doric dialect, sung in chorus by the phalanx in advancing to the attack. The poems of all three classes were considered among the most excellent of their kind. The performance of his martial and political odes on festive occasions became a habitual custom at Lacedæmon, especially in time of war, when they were chanted by the troops at their meals, or when assembled in front of the general's tent door.[1] The war marches of Tyrtæus also constituted the national standards in that branch of composition; and the anapæstic measure in which they were composed, called in memory of its origin Messeniac, continued to be preferred as the favourite rhythm for the regulation of military movements.[2]

The preserved passages of Tyrtæus are chiefly of the elegiac order. Several of them can hardly be called fragments, as extending to from thirty to fifty verses each, and the longest[3], though not distinctly transmitted as such, possesses all the requisites of an integral composition. They offer in their general character much resemblance to the remains of Callinus; and the correspondence in several verses is such as almost to warrant a suspicion of plagiarism by the more recent author. The style of Tyrtæus, however, is marked by a greater vigour and terseness, and his addresses by a spirit of ardent enthusiasm, and fierce or even ferocious determination, very different from the morbid desponding patriotism of Callinus. The

[1] Lycurg. contr. Leocr. § 28.; Philoch. ap. Athen. xiv. p. 630.
[2] Bach, p. 73. sq.
[3] Frg. viii.

martial appeals of Tyrtæus are also enlivened by illustrations of the soldiers' duties, and of the scenes and adventures of the battle field. Among the most graphic of his pictures is the description[1] of the warrior advancing to the encounter "with compressed "lips and firm step, brandishing his spear in his hand, "while his plume nods terribly from his helmet." The excellence of a glorious death is placed in spirited contrast with the wretchedness of life purchased by loss of honour; and the baseness of flight is further beautifully illustrated by the reflexion, that, "in pro- "portion as it insures safety to the young and lusty "combatant, it entails death on the grey-headed vete- "ran, whose support and defence ought to be a chief "duty of his youthful comrades."[2]

To the political order of elegy belonged what appears to have been the most elaborate work of Tyrtæus, and the only one mentioned by the antients under a distinct title, the Eunomia, or Politia.[3] The former title, literally, "excellent system of laws," is the same by which the Pythoness, in her celebrated enuntiation to Lycurgus[4], designates his code, and by reference to which the lawgiver was afterwards himself honoured with the figurative patronymic of Son of Eunomus. The poem, of which some fine remains are extant[5], was a eulogistic commentary, as its name implies, on the Spartan constitution. It appears to have been composed for the purpose of allaying the agrarian sedition above noticed, and to have been addressed more immediately to the instigators of that

[1] Frg. VII 21. sqq.; conf. VI. 31.
[2] Frg. VI. 21.
[3] Aristot. Polit. V. VI.; Strab. VIII. p. 362.; Suid. v. Τυρ.
[4] Plut. in vit. V. [5] Frg. I.

disturbance. It was interspersed with allusions to the glories of the Heraclid race, and to the rise and ascendancy of the Dorian power under the auspices of so admirable a form of government, the special gift of Apollo to his favoured people. Stress was also laid on the triumphs achieved in the first war over the same enemy, the prospect of whose complete subjection was now endangered by a factious impatience of the evils inseparable from such a contest. Even in this poem military descriptions seem greatly to have abounded, as most of the existing fragments partake of the martial character. The dialect of these elegies is the same modification of the old epic, or Homeric (here slightly tinged with Æolo-Doric forms[1]), as that used in the parallel compositions of Callinus and Archilochus. The preference of this idiom by a Spartan minstrel may be attributed partly to a deference to the example of those earlier standard elegiac authors; partly to a similar deference to the old hexameter style, from which the elegy or pentameter is itself an emanation; partly, perhaps, to the poet's Ionian origin.

The few remaining passages of the embateria, or war marches, in anapæstic measure and Doric dialect, are, upon the whole, the most original and characteristic portions of the extant works of this poet. They are not only the earliest remaining examples of the pure anapæstic metre, but the only preserved specimens of the Greek war march, and so excellent in their kind as painfully to tantalise the appetite for more. Replete with fire and energy in sound and sense, they afford abundant proof of the value of the anapæstic verse,

[1] Frgg. II. 7., v. 3.

and of the Greek tongue, in their adaptation to the rhythm of military movements:[1]

ἄγετ', ὦ Σπάρτας εὐάνδρου
κοῦροι πατέρων πολιῆται·
λαιᾷ μὲν ἴτυν προβάλεσθε,
δόρυ δ' εὐτόλμως πάλλοντες,
μὴ φειδόμενοι τᾶς ζωᾶς,
οὐ γὰρ πάτριον τᾶς Σπάρτας. . . .

To the field, to the field, gallant Spartan band,
Worthy sons, like your sires, of our warlike land!
Let each arm be prepared for its part in the fight,
Fix the shield on the left, poise the spear with the right.
Let no care for your lives in your bosoms find place,
No such care knew the heroes of old Spartan race. . . . .

The style of Tyrtæus is more remarkable for simplicity and vigour than polish and refinement. He brings home facts and objects in their native reality to the apprehension, with little variety of phraseology, and rarely an attempt at figurative illustration. The frequent recurrence, in his longer addresses, of the same ideas and images[2], a consequence, in some degree, of the almost exclusively martial character of his odes, amounts occasionally to a sort of poetical commonplace, similar to that authorised in the popular usage of the heroic minstrelsy. Here, however, the repetition, in its connexion with otherwise broadly different materials and style, instead of conducing, as in the old epic poem, to harmony or precision, imparts at times an incoherent or disjointed character to the text. This latter peculiarity may

[1] Frg. XI. The anapæst embodies, in fact, the natural march time, and was adopted as such, accordingly, by the Romans (Ammian. Marcell. XXIV. 6.; Cic. Tusc. Disp. II. 16.), as it has been in familiar modern practice.

[2] Of the phrase πρόμαχοι, for example: frgg. VI. 1. 21. 30., VII. 4. 12. alibi; conf. frgg. VI. 31., VII. 21.

also, in part, be a consequence of the fragmentary form in which the passages have been transmitted. It has, however, afforded matter for the speculations of those modern critics who would discover, in all such distinctive peculiarities, so many evidences of miscellaneous origin or systematic corruption. Such theories, precarious as they are even in the case of entire compositions, become comparatively nugatory as applied to detached passages of works which must have been, even in their integrity, of an essentially fugitive or desultory character. It were certainly not easy to find a similar collection of fragments displaying, in its variety or uniformity, its merits or defects, more satisfactory internal evidence of a single author.[1]

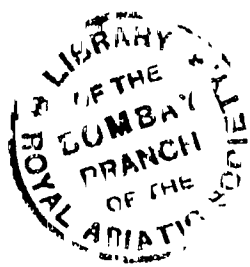
The elegiac verse of Tyrtæus is distinguished by regularity and emphatic precision of structure. As a general rule, each distich comprises a more or less distinct clause of the text; and rarely, if ever, does a full period seem to have occurred at the close of a hexameter, or in the middle of either verse, according, at least, to the genuine arrangement of the text, although here and there introduced by the caprice of editors. That Tyrtæus was familiar with the poems of Homer may be inferred from several passages[2] of his remains, embodying the spirit, and to

[1] See supra, p. 137. note 5. That the national Spartan collection of martial songs by native Spartan warriors should ever have been recognised by the Spartans themselves, for so recognised the poems of "Tyrtæus" unquestionably were, as the compositions of an Athenian stranger, seems something, to say the least, very marvellous. Such, however, in substance, is the theory of Thiersch, when stripped of all its appendages of Wolfian subtlety and learned illustration.

[2] Compare frg. VI. 19. sqq. with Il. XXII. 71. sqq.; frg. VII. 10. sqq. with Il. V. 529. sqq., XV. 561. sqq.; frg. VII. 31. with Il. XIII. 129.

a certain extent the letter, of parallel portions of the Iliad. Of his musical talents less is said by the antients than in the case of most other equally distinguished lyric poets of this period.[1]

[1] He is mentioned by Pollux, iv. 107., as the institutor of the Spartan musical festival of the Trichoria (supra, p. 127.). Plutarch, however, apparently with better reason, traces the origin of this primitive national solemnity to the time of Lycurgus. Plut. in Lyc. xxi.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CHAP. IV.

BIOGRAPHY OF LYRIC POETS. ALCMAN. ARION. STESICHORUS. XANTHUS. SACADAS. XENOCRITUS. EUNOMUS.

1. ALCMAN. HIS ORIGIN, BIRTHPLACE, AND TIMES. — 2. STYLE AND TENDENCY OF HIS POETRY. HIS TITLE TO THE CHARACTER OF "LACONIAN POET." — 3. HIS RHYTHMICAL IMPROVEMENTS. — 4. HIS REMAINS. — 5. ARION AND HIS DOLPHIN. — 6. PROBABLE IMPORT OF THE LEGEND. — 7. HIS IMPUTED ODE TO NEPTUNE. — 8. CHARACTER OF HIS GENUINE WORKS. — 9. STESICHORUS. HIS BIRTHPLACE. HIS LOCRIAN ORIGIN. HIS DESCENT FROM HESIOD. — 10. HIS FAMILY. INTERCOURSE WITH PHALARIS. — 11. BLINDNESS. "RECANTATION." — 12. MIGRATION TO CATANA. DEATH AND TOMB. PERSONAL CHARACTER. — 13. INVENTIVE GENIUS. EPICO-LYRIC STYLE. — 14. ITS PRIOR CULTIVATION BY XANTHUS. — 15. HOMERIC ATTRIBUTES OF STESICHORUS. — 16. HIS WORKS AND THEIR REMAINS. EUROPIA. GERYONIS. CERBERUS. CYCNUS. SCYLLA. ATHLA PELIÆ. SYOTHERÆ. ERIPHYLE. — 17. ILII-PERSIS. — 18. PALINODIA. — 19. CALYCE. RHADINA. PÆANS. APOCRYPHAL WORKS. FABLES. — 20. METRES. DIALECT. — 21. OTHER EPICO-LYRIC POETS. SACADAS. XENOCRITUS. EUNOMUS.

ALCMAN. 670—610 B. C.

Alcman. His origin and times.

1. ALCMAN[1], the next as he is the last of the more illustrious masters of the Spartan school of lyric poetry, flourished, according to the various notices of chronologers, from about 670 B.C. down to 611 B.C.[2] The length of the period comprised within these two dates is justified by his own pointed allusion in one of his odes to his advanced old age. The former date may be taken conjecturally as the epoch of his youth or first notoriety; the latter, as that of his death. His period of poetical activity would thus

[1] Conf. Welck. Fragm. Alcm.; Bergk, Poett. lyrr. p. 538.; Schneidewin, Delect. Poes. Gr. sect. III. p. 238. The fragments are here cited according to the arrangement of Welcker.

[2] Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. I. pp. 189. 195. 201. 217.

have commenced about the close of the second great Messenian war, and the establishment of the Spartan ascendancy over the Dorian peninsula. Accordingly, both the style and the subjects of his compositions bespeak a period of national prosperity and repose, or even of festive enjoyment, broadly contrasted with the wars, turbulence, and internal dissensions shadowed forth in the odes of his elder contemporary, Tyrtæus. While rivalling, or even surpassing, his great predecessors, Terpander and Tyrtæus, in the popularity enjoyed by his muse among his Lacedæmonian fellow-citizens, Alcman possesses as little claim as those masters to the honour of genuine Lacedæmonian origin. By the concurrent testimony of the best authorities, corroborated incidentally by himself, he was a Lydian slave in the family of Agesidas, a Spartan citizen, by whom he was emancipated, and under whose patronage he acquired such subordinate political rights as were compatible with his previous condition.[1] It does not distinctly appear whether he was himself a native Lydian, or a son of Lydian parents settled in Laconia; but the former view is the more probable, and is partially borne out by a passage of his own works where he connects a certain refinement of tastes, for which he assumes credit, with the Lydian capital, in terms seeming to claim it as his birthplace.[2] That he must, in this case, have been brought early to Lacedæmon may be inferred from his mastery of the Greek tongue, especially the Laconian dialect. According to some

[1] Crates ap. Suid. v. Ἀλκμάν; Heracl. Polit. frg. II. Schneidew.; Vell. Paterc. I. xviii.; Alex. Ætol. in Anthol. Pal. VII. ep. 709.; Antip. et Leonid. ibid. 18, 19.; conf. Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. I. p. 189.

[2] Frg. XI.

authorities, his father's name was Damas; according to others, Tityrus.[1]

Style and tendency of his poetry.

2. The more prominent features of Alcman's genius present, certainly, more of an Asiatic than a Spartan character; the extant specimens of his muse being chiefly of an amorous tendency, or in celebration of the pleasures of the table. Of the poems of the former class a large proportion appear to have been those called Parthenia, performed at certain public festivals and under national auspices, in honour of the youthful portion of the female citizens.[2] The circumstance of his being the earliest recorded author of odes of this rather peculiar character, may have obtained him the credit which he enjoys with the later grammarians, as "inventor" of the love song.[3] The only member of the sex whom he celebrates by name is Megalostrata[4], described by some commentators, but on no competent authority, as herself a proficient in the poetical art. These compositions are censured by the antients for their voluptuous or even licentious style[5]; and their author is ranked, in respect to this peculiarity of his muse, in the same category as Anacreon. This judgement is also amply justified by the remains of Alcman, which are, for the most part, of a light and jovial, or even meretricious, tendency, savouring more of Æolian or Lydian than Dorian genius. Yet it is certain that the same rank allotted to the Athenian Tyrtæus, as representative of Spartan national feeling in the martial and political orders of poetry and music, was enjoyed by the Lydian Alcman in the more social

[1] Suid. loc. cit.; conf. Welck. p. 4.
[2] Supra, p. 74.
[3] Suid. loc. cit.; conf. Athen. XIII. p. 600 F.
[4] Frg. XXVI. sq.
[5] Archyt. et Chamæl. ap. Athen. XIII. p. 600 F.

and familiar departments of the same arts. This congeniality of his style to the taste of the Spartan public, with his skill in adapting the rugged forms of the Laconian dialect to the livelier more popular branches of lyric composition, obtained for him the proud title of "Laconian" or "Lacedæmonian poet" by preeminence; under which title he is as familiarly cited by his quoters and commentators as under his proper name of Alcman.

His title to the character of "the Laconian poet."

From all this it would appear, either that the ascetic contempt for sensual indulgence on which the Spartans afterwards prided themselves had not yet been fully matured, or that the legislative rigour of their public morality was compatible, in the days of Alcman, with much freedom of social habits.[1] The great importance attached by the "Laconian poet" to the subject of eating and drinking forms, it may be added, a no less prominent feature, both of his personal and poetical character, than his turn for sexual gallantry. A large portion of his remains are devoted to elaborate descriptions of particular dishes, with eulogies of such as were to his own taste, and directions for their preparation.[2] He also boasts, in no measured terms, of the vastness of his appetite for this unpoetical species of luxury. He is hence habitually quoted, by Athenæus and other popular writers on convivial subjects, as the chief

[1] The frequent and familiar allusions to gold and other objects of luxury or social splendour by "the Spartan poet," in these popular Spartan odes (frgg. XXV. XXIX. XXX. XVII.), are also in curious conflict with the traditional banishment by Lycurgus (Plut. in vit. IX.; conf. Lacon. Apophth. p. 226.) of the precious metals, and all other more sumptuous appendages of civilised life, from the Lacedæmonian state.

[2] Frgg. XVII—XX., XXIII—XXV., XXVIII, XXIX, LXXXIV. alibi; all in the broadest possible conflict with Plutarch, Vit. Lyc. x. alibi.

authority of this early period on some of the more delicate branches of the art of good living. Several of the dishes described and commended by him belong rather to the head of pastry or confectionary than to that of substantial diet[1], and are, by consequence, more peculiarly at variance with the popular notions relative to the black broth school of cookery. He disclaims, however, in very emphatic terms, any desire to indulge in more dainty diet than his fellow-citizens[2]; pluming himself less on the quality than the quantity of his meals, as his title to the designation, in which he seems to have gloried, of "the voracious Alcman."[3] The loathsome disease of which, like Sylla, Pherecydes, and some other great men, he is said to have died, has hence been ascribed to his gluttonous habits.[4] Yet, from allusions contained in his extant passages, he would seem to have lived to an advanced age.[5] His taste for wine was equally liberal. In one place he enumerates five kinds, several of which appear to have been of foreign growth.[6] But neither his own text, nor the notices of his life, indicate any turn for intemperate conviviality.

His rhythmical improvements.

3. Alcman possesses a strong claim to the honour, if not of inventing, of maturing at least, the proper melic school of Greek lyric poetry. Terpander, Thaletas, and other earlier composers of Spartan celebrity, while uniting in some degree the literary with the melic branch of art, rank not as poets but as musicians; Callinus, Tyrtæus, Archilochus, on the other hand, rank not as musicians but as poets. In the works of Alcman is first observable that more complete distinction between recitative and melic com-

[1] Frgg. xviii. xxviii. [2] Frg. xxiii. [3] Frg. xxiii.
[4] Aristot. Hist. An. v. 31.; Plin. H.N. xi. 39.; conf. Welck. p. 14. sq.; Ælian. V. H. i. xxvii. [5] Frg. xii. [6] Frg. xv.

position, which forms so essential a characteristic of the more advanced stages of lyric poetry. As the immediate successor or younger contemporary of Terpander, and enjoying the full benefit of the musical improvements of that great master, Alcman flourished at a period peculiarly favourable for the exercise of his own inventive faculties in the extension of those improvements to the properly poetical department of their common art. He is celebrated, accordingly, as author of the first more artificial developement of the strophe, the foundation of the higher choral styles of composition. The strophe, indeed, in its simplest form, was probably from the earliest period an element of the popular minstrelsy. In the remains of Archilochus it already appears, but on a comparatively limited scale, and imparting epigrammatic rather than melic spirit to the text of an ode. In Alcman it assumes a fulness of form, and a variety of rhythmical combination, equalling or surpassing that allotted to it by Alcæus or Sappho. His Lydian origin therefore, taken in connexion with the popularity of this style of composition in the contemporary or immediately succeeding school of Æolian poetry on the same Asiatic coast, and with a marked tinge of Æolism in his dialect[1], can leave little doubt that the Greek public was indebted for the germ of this, as of other similar improvements of lyric art, to an Æolian rather than a Peloponnesian source. Alcman was probably not so much the author of the improvement, as the instrument of its introduction and developement on a wider field of influence and popularity. The exercise of his in-

[1] Frgg. passim; conf. Auctt. ap. Welck. ad frg. LXXVI.; Eustath. ad Od. XV. p. 1787.

ventive talent has also been supposed, on grounds the validity of which has been considered in a previous chapter[1], to have extended from the simpler melic order of strophe to the more complicated choric or antistrophic form of the same metrical refinement. The existing passages of his works afford, indeed, no distinct evidence of antistrophic arrangement. But, while neither their number nor state of preservation is sufficient to constitute them in this case any fair criterion of the entire collection, it is certain that several of the metrical combinations comprised in that collection are so far prolonged beyond the ordinary limits of the melic strophe, as to warrant the belief of their having formed part of regular choral compositions. Alcman is also mentioned by antient critics as author of an ode of fourteen strophes or stanzas, consisting of two sets of seven, each of which sets was in a different measure.[2] But it does not appear in what mode the members of the series were disposed, whether the two varieties of form were chequered with each other in alternate pairs, and arranged, by consequence, in regular antistrophic form; or whether each set of stanzas was ranged by itself in continuous order, forming, as it were, one prolonged strophe, to which the other seven stanzas may have corresponded as antistrophe.

His works and their remains.

4. The parthenia[3], or virginal songs, which occupied two[4] at least of the six books into which Alcman's entire collection is divided by the grammarians[5], seem to have been solely or chiefly of the kind above classed[6] as secular or profane; those, namely, com-

[1] Supra, p. 59.
[2] Hephæst. p. 134. Gaisf.
[3] Plut. de Mus. xvii.; Alcm. frg. i. alibi.
[4] Frg. xi.; conf. Steph. Byz. v. ἐρυσίχη.
[5] Suid. v. Ἀλκμ.
[6] Ch. ii. p. 74. supra.

posed and performed in honour of the youthful members of the female sex. Of the other sacred order of parthenia, sung in chorus by the virgins themselves, there is no distinct trace in this poet's remains; although such compositions appear in Sparta, as in Thebes and Athens, to have formed a distinct branch of choral poetry.[1]

Besides the parthenia, Alcman is described as author of hymns, pæans, prosodia, hymenæa, and of certain compositions entitled Diving or Tumbling songs.[2] The preserved specimens of these various compositions can hardly be said to justify the great celebrity of their author. Amid much that is commonplace, or even vulgar, the style of his chaster passages seldom rises above a tone of easy colloquial elegance; and, even in his more dignified, amorous, or tender moods, his taste for the lower objects of sensual indulgence is apt to break forth. He descanted with some complacency, in one of his hymenæal odes it would appear, on the ingredients used in the preparation of certain dainty cakes which it was customary to hand round to the female choristers while engaged in chanting the praises of the bride.[3] In a poetical description of the four seasons[4], he complains of spring, on account of the comparatively scanty stock of his favourite viands with which that part of the year supplied his table, but congratulates himself on the increased variety which would set in after the summer solstice.[5] His chief excellence appears to have lain in his descriptive powers. The best and one of the longest extant passages[6]

[1] Paus. III. x. 8., IV. xvi. 5. alibi.

[2] Frg. XXXII.; Menand. Rh. ap. Welck. ibid.; Plut. de Mus. XVII.; Leonid. Tarent. in Anthol. Palat. VII. 19.; Suid. et Eudocia, v. Ἀλκμ.; conf. Welck. op. cit. p. 9.

[3] Sosib. ap. Athen. XIV. p. 646.

[4] Frg. XXIV.

[5] Frg. XXIII.

[6] Frg. X.

of his works is a description of sleep, or rather of night; a description unsurpassed, perhaps unrivalled, by any similar passage in the Greek or any other language, and which has been imitated or paraphrased by many distinguished poets:[1]

εὕδουσιν δ' ὀρέων κορυφαί τε καὶ φάραγγες,
πρῶνές τε καὶ χαράδραι·
φῦλά τε, ἑρπετά θ', ὅσσα τρέφει μέλαινα γαῖα·
θῆρες ὀρεσκῷοί τε, καὶ γένος μελισσῶν·
καὶ κνώδαλ' ἐν βένθεσσι πορφυρᾶς ἁλός·
εὕδουσι δ' οἰωνῶν
φῦλα τανυπτερύγων. . . .

Now o'er the drowsy earth still night prevails.
Calm sleep the mountain tops and shady vales,
The rugged cliffs and hollow glens;
The wild beasts slumber in their dens;
The cattle on the hill. Deep in the sea
The countless finny race and monster brood
Tranquil repose. Even the busy bee
Forgets her daily toil. The silent wood
No more with noisy hum of insect rings;
And all the feather'd tribes, by gentle sleep subdued,
Roost in the glade, and hang their drooping wings.

Nowhere, however, in his remains, even in the fragments of his hymns to the gods, is there any distinct trace of that loftiness of style which distinguishes the nobler productions of the Dorian Muse; no high tone

[1] Apoll. Rh., Virgil, Tasso, ap. Welck ad loc. A beautiful peculiarity of this beautiful description is the vivid manner in which it shadows forth the scenery of the vale of Lacedæmon, with which the inspirations of the poet were so intimately associated; from the snow-capped peaks of Taÿgetus, down to the dark blue sea which washes the base of the mountain. The author would find it difficult to convey to the imagination of the reader the effect produced on his own by the recurrence of the passage to his mind, during a walk among the ruins of Sparta, on a calm spring night, about an hour after a brilliant sunset.

of devotional fervour or moral feeling. Even his amatory effusions are rather of the sentimental and complimentary than the impassioned order. Nor does a vestige of camp song or war march appear in the collection, although later superficial grammarians[1], in the face of the notorious priority of Tyrtæus in this department, ascribe to Alcman the invention of the anapæstic embaterion, or battle pæan. The peculiar title of Diving or Tumbling songs[2], given by the antients to a portion of his compositions, would indicate them to have been of a grotesque or ludicrous tendency; destined, possibly, as accompaniments of the rustic mimes and Satyr dances popular among the Lacedæmonians during this early period.

Among the graver mythical subjects treated by Alcman, for the most part incidentally it may be presumed, were the siege and sack of Athens, and capture of Æthra, mother of Theseus, by the Dioscuri.[3] These adventures were described in a hymn addressed to the twin deities. Alcman differed from Homer, in representing Circe as herself stopping the ears of the mariners of Ulysses[4], instead of merely instructing the hero to take that precaution, and in assigning ten, instead of twelve, children to Niobe.[5] Among other innovations on the older fable, he described the Muses as female Titans[6], daughters of Uranus and Terra. Fortune (Tyche), a deity unknown to Homer, was, in a more ethic spirit of allegory, made daughter of Promethia (Prudentia), and sister of Eunomia (good government[7]). The

[1] Ap. Welck. p. 12.
[2] κολυμβώσεις; Suid. et Eudoc. v. Ἀλκμ.; conf. Welck. p. 8. sqq.
[3] Frg. III. sqq.; conf. Welck. ad loc. [4] Frg. LI.
[5] Frg. LIV. [6] Frg. IX. [7] Frg. XLV.

stone of Tantalus was explained, not as a real object of Tartarean terror, but as a morbid delusion in the condemned hero's mind[1]; and the Greco-Pelasgic origin of the Hellenic race was figured by their descent from a mythical race of matrons called Græces.[2]

Consistently with Alcman's accredited extension of the system of strophic or choral arrangement, the more elementary rhythmical combinations, on which the varieties of that system are founded, appear in greater number in his remains than can be discovered in the works of any previous poet. He supplies, consequently, several additions to the stock of Archilochus, especially in the dactylic and Cretic branches, and in their different modifications, the choriambic, Ionic, and pæonic.[3] Although Alcman has the credit of imparting the graces of poetical diction to the ruder forms of the Laconian dialect, his use of that idiom seems to have been chiefly confined to compositions of a more familiar character. The more classical of his extant passages are partly in the primitive epic dialect, especially where dactylic forms prevail; partly in the Æolic, or in a medium between the two. Even in more homely subjects, his idiom can rarely, if ever, be considered as pure Laconian. Like other poets, he availed himself of the ordinary privilege of Greek art, to select from the common stock of poetical usage the forms best adapted to the subject of each work.

ARION. 625—610. B. C.

Arion and his dolphin.

5. A large share of attention has already been allotted to this poet in a previous chapter, in con-

[1] Frg. LIII. [2] Frg. XCIII. [3] Welck. Præf. ad Fragm. p. 12. sqq.

nexion with the dithyrambic chorus, around which his celebrity, as a promoter or improver of national art, was mainly concentrated. A few remarks, however, still remain due to the details of his own personal history, and to the merits of his poetical style, as represented by the single composition transmitted under his name.

Arion was a native of Methymna, in the isle of Lesbos, and a disciple, therefore, of the same Æolian school which produced so many other illustrious poets of the melic order. His talents, as we have already seen[1], were more celebrated as exercised in the musical and orchestic than in the poetical department of his art. His age has not been very exactly recorded. He is described, however, as a pupil of Alcman[2] (670—611 B.C.); and the chief scene of his professional activity was Corinth, during the reign of Periander, which commenced in 625 B. C. The date assigned to his maritime adventure, described in the sequel, is 610 B.C., the year before the death of his accredited master Alcman. His own flourishing period may therefore be placed between 625 and 610 B.C.[3] The name Cycleus, or Cyclon, familiarly ascribed to his father[4], seems an evident figure of the fame derived by the son from his invention of the "Cyclic" chorus. Of his early career nothing further is recorded than that he selected Corinth as his principal scene of activity, where he enjoyed the patronage and friendship of its celebrated ruler above mentioned.

The remarkable adventure of which he afterwards became the hero, while indebted probably for much

[1] Supra, p. 77. sqq.
[2] Suid. v. Ἀρίων.
[3] Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. i. p. 211. 217.
[4] Suid. v. Ἀρίων.

of the romantic detail with which popular tradition has invested it to his celebrity as an artist, has, in its turn, contributed nearly as much to his posthumous fame, as the brilliancy of his musical compositions. It has been narrated under its liveliest and most attractive features by Herodotus, and cannot, consequently, be presented to the reader in a more concise, simple, and agreeable form than in the language of that author:[1]

"During the reign of Periander, a very extraordinary event occurred, the transport of Arion, the Methymnæan, to Cape Tænarus by a dolphin. This Arion, the most distinguished harp-player of his age, and the first who, to our knowledge, composed and represented the dithyramb in Corinth, is said, after a long residence at the court of Periander, to have conceived a desire to visit Italy and Sicily. Having acquired much wealth in those regions by the exercise of his art, he resolved again to return to Corinth, and, reposing great confidence in the mariners of that city, embarked on board a Corinthian vessel. The crew, however, conspired on the voyage to cast him into the sea, and take possession of his treasure. On being apprised of their design, he entreated them to spare his life, and to content themselves with his goods, the whole of which he would freely abandon to them. But they would not listen to him, and ordered him either to dispatch himself with his own hand, promising him a decent interment on shore, or to throw himself into the sea. Seeing no hope of prevailing with them, he besought them at least to allow him, adorning himself with the insignia of his art, to sing his own funeral dirge, and promised that, at its close, he would fulfil their command. To this they agreed, fascinated by the thought of hearing such a performance by the most illustrious musician of the age, and assembled in the centre of the ship for the purpose. Arraying himself accordingly in his festive attire, he took up his station on the prow, with lyre in hand, and, after performing the Orthian nome[2], plunged into the waves. The ship pursued its course to Corinth;

[1] Herodot. I. xxiii. sq.; conf. Dio Chrys. vol. II. p. 102. Reisk.; Pausan. III. xxv. 5.; Ælian. Hist. An. XII. xlv.; Auctt. ap. Plehn. Lesbiaca, p. 166.; Welck. Delph. des Arion, Kleine Schrift. vol. i. p. 91.

[2] Plutarch (Conv. Sept. Sap. p. 161.) calls it the Pythian nome.

while a dolphin, as the story is told, taking Arion on its back, bore him safe to Cape Tænarus. On landing he travelled direct to Corinth, still equipped as before, and on his arrival related what had befallen him to his patron. Periander, somewhat incredulous, retained him in custody, keeping, at the same time, a careful watch on the return of the vessel. On its entry into port he sent for the mariners, and questioned them concerning Arion. They replied that the poet was still in Italy, and that they had left him in prosperous circumstances at Tarentum. Upon this, Periander suddenly brought him, dressed precisely as he was when he leapt overboard, into their presence; when, terror-struck, they confessed all that had taken place. This adventure is related both by the Corinthians[1] and the Lesbians; and, in a small bronze offering dedicated by the poet himself in the sanctuary of Neptune at Tænarus, he is represented bestriding a dolphin."

Probable import of the legend.

6. That this beautiful fable is founded, to a greater or less extent, on fact, few even of the most fastidious commentators have ventured to dispute, whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the nature or amount of such ingredient of reality. Some have supposed that the poet, when thrown into the sea by piratical mariners, had been picked up alive by a vessel bearing the sign of a dolphin. Others have conjectured that a figure of Neptune riding on a dolphin had been dedicated by Arion in the temple of Neptune at Tænarus, as an acknowledgement of the favour vouchsafed by the deity to the poet in his maritime adventures; and that the human portion of the group having been misrepresented by the priests, or mistaken by the frequenters of the sanctuary, for an effigy of Arion himself, had given rise to the fable of his miraculous preservation by the animal. There can be little doubt that the legend, whatever

[1] Bianor (in Anth. Pal. ix. ep. 308.) makes the dolphin bear Arion direct to Corinth. Lucian and others (conf. Welck. op. cit. p. 97.) place the adventure in the Ægæan sea.

its own immediate import, is connected with the older fable of the Laconian hero Phalanthus[1], who led a colony from Sparta to Tarentum, the Italian port from which Arion sailed, and who was similarly preserved by a dolphin when shipwrecked near the coast of Italy. There is here the further coincidence, which can hardly be altogether fortuitous, that the same legend is related of Taras, the primitive eponyme hero of Tarentum[2], who is also represented on the coins of that city bestriding a dolphin. The dolphin, from its proverbially sociable and easy intercourse with mariners, playing, as it does habitually, round their vessels, and accompanying them on their course, was the popular type, not merely of navigation, but especially of successful maritime enterprise.[3] Hence the legends of remarkable persons (among whom may be numbered, besides Taras, Phalanthus, and Arion, Telemachus, Hesiod, and others of inferior note) saved from death, or preserved, when drowned, from a watery grave, by the friendly intervention of this animal, were singularly popular and prevalent[4] among the Greeks of all ages. Riding on a dolphin thus became the familiar symbol of providential escape from maritime disaster. Another fabulous attribute of the animal was its partiality for music and musicians[5],

[1] Pausan. x. xiii. 5.

[2] Pausan. loc. cit., conf. x. x. 4.; Strab. vi. p. 279.; conf. Müll. Dor. vol. ii. p. 216. 369.; Plehn, Lesbiaca, p. 166.

[3] Hom. Hymn. Apoll. Pyth.; Pind. Pyth. iv. 29.; Eurip. Helen. 1474.; conf. Welck. Ueb. den Delph. d. Arion. Op. Misc. vol. i. p. 89.; and the author's Journal of a Tour in Greece, vol. i. p. 173.

[4] Of Hesiod, supra, Vol. II. p. 375. Of Telemachus, Plut. de Solert. Anim. p. 985.; conf. Archil. frg. 84. Lieb.; Phylarch. ap. Athen. xiii. p. 606.; Paus. i. xliv. 11., iii. xxv. 5.; Plut. Conv. S. Sap. p. 162, De Solert. Anim. p. 984.; Welck. op. cit. p. 90.

[5] Pind. frgg. 156, 157. Boeckh; Eurip. Electr. 433.

supplying an additional motive for its employment by Arion or his admirers, in this symbolic capacity, should opportunity offer, or circumstances require. Assuming, therefore, that the poet was, it matters not how, providentially preserved from drowning in the course of a voyage from Tarentum, nothing could be more natural than for him to shape his votive offering to Neptune in the form described by Herodotus; and any more subtle interpretations which have been hazarded, as to a misunderstanding of the real nature or import of the monument by posterity, or wilful deception by the priests of the temple, become superfluous and hypercritical.

Cycleus, father of Arion.

More specious, perhaps, is the objection founded on the text of the inscription on the monument, as quoted by later authors[1], where the name Cycleus or Cyclon occurred as that of Arion's father. This name, it has been urged, was a mere figurative title[2], typifying the poet's celebrity as institutor of the "Cyclic" chorus. It could hardly, therefore, have been the invention of Arion's own day, still less have been inscribed by himself, instead of the real name of his parent, on a votive monument of his own dedication. Upon this difficulty has chiefly been grounded, and with some plausibility, the hypothesis, that the figurative group, even if really representing Arion, was not of his own or of contemporary dedication, but a forgery of the priests in later times, as a valuable addition to their stock of curiosities. The sceptical argument, however, is here also more specious than real. The slender knowledge we possess of

[1] Ælian. Hist. An. XII. xlv.; Cramer, Anecd. Oxon. vol. III. p 352.

[2] Conf. supra, p. 85.; Suid. et Eud. v. Ἀρίων.

the mode or circumstances under which such symbolic titles were wont to be bestowed, ought itself to render us cautious, in any case, of grounding specific conclusions on such speculative data. But, in fact, there can be no doubt, by reference to other authenticated examples, that it would have been quite in conformity with the Greek figurative style of those days, that a significant patronymic of this nature should not only have obtained currency during Arion's own lifetime, but should have been used by himself or his friends in a poetical dedication. That the figurative title Ligystiades, or Ligyastades, "Son of Complaint," was similarly applied to Mimnermus, the "plaintive poet" by preeminence, is proved by its occurrence in a still extant passage of an elegy addressed to him by his friend and contemporary Solon.[1] Whether that legislator's own patronymic Execestides, "Son of Reform," be more than a typical indication of his political services, seems also very questionable. And there is reason to believe that the name Enipo, literally "Scold," under which Archilochus has himself recorded his servile origin by the mother's side, is but a figure of his own scurrilous tongue. The genuine character both of Arion's monument and of its inscription has received a further curious confirmation by the palæographical discoveries lately effected in the island of Thera, now Santorini.[2] That island was colonised by Sparta at a remote date, and the worship of Neptune was transplanted to it, in a form similar to that which prevailed at Tænarus, as an emanation probably from the Laconian sanctuary.

[1] See Ch. vi. § 1.

[2] Boeckh, Ueber die von Prokesch in Thera entd. Inschr. Abhandl. der Berlin. Acad. 1838, p. 41. sqq.; conf. Franz. Elem. Epigraph. p. 53.

Among other very antient and valuable inscriptions lately discovered in Thera, seemingly within the sacred precinct of the god, is one which, as restored by its ingenious editor[1], contains the name of Cycleus, and, to all appearance, those of Arion and his dolphin. It also bears, in its terms, that the monument to which it referred, a duplicate probably or copy of that in the parent sanctuary, was dedicated by the poet's own brother; and the style of the letters has been admitted, on the same not very indulgent authority, to betray an antiquity coeval with that of the dedicator.

Arion's ode to Neptune.

7. Another important question, as affecting both the element of historical fact in this legend and the literary character of Arion, is that concerning the authenticity of the elegant ode to Neptune[2] preserved by Ælian[3], and attributed by him to Arion. This poem not only describes itself very distinctly in the person of its own author as a work of Arion, composed in commemoration of his delivery by dolphins, but makes the poet himself allude to the circumstances of that delivery as corresponding, in all essential respects, with those narrated by Herodotus. He describes "treacherous men as casting him from "the hollow ship into the purple sea; and the nim-"bly bounding music-loving dolphins as transporting "him on their crested backs to the Tænarian shore "of the land of Pelops." Modern critical opinion[4]

[1] Boeckh, op. cit. p. 71. sqq.

[2] Ap. Schneidew. Delectus Poesis Græc. sect. II. p. 258.; Bergk, Poet. lyrr. Græcc. p. 566.

[3] Hist. An. XII. 45.; conf. Tzetz. ap. Cram. Anecd. Oxon. vol. III. p. 352.

[4] Conf. Welck. op. cit. p. 93.; Müller, Hist. of Gr. Lit. vol. I. p. 205.; Hermann ad Aristot. Poet. p. 235.; Lehrs, Rhein. Mus. 1847, p. 58. sqq.

has been much divided as to the genuine character of this composition. Objections have been raised, partly on the improbability of any poet having promulgated such a story concerning himself, partly on the internal evidence of the style of the ode, which has been pronounced inconsistent with the age or genius of Arion. To the former objection the obvious answer is, that it were unreasonable, in any such case, to exact a literal import from the expressions of a popular poet. The same indulgence which commentators claim in their attempts to interpret the legend might fairly be extended to Arion's promulgation of it. He would merely have availed himself of the common privilege of poets, to record, in figurative language, an extraordinary or providential event of his life. If Horace was at liberty to represent Mercury as preserving him from death by enveloping him in a cloud on the field of Philippi, or the protecting arm of a Faun as warding off from his head the blow of a falling tree in the Sabine mountains, Arion was surely as free to figure his delivery from a maritime disaster under the familiar symbol which would so naturally, on many grounds, present itself to his imagination. It is true, however, that his description of himself in the ode, as having been "cast into the sea by the treacherous mariners," can hardly, with any plausibility, be interpreted in a sense seriously at variance with its literal import. Admitting, then, the genuine character of the ode, the natural explanation of the fable would be, that Arion, having on his passage from Italy been plundered of his goods by the crew of the vessel, and then thrown overboard, turned adrift in a boat or on a plank, or otherwise consigned to the mercy of the waves, had saved

himself by swimming; or had been in some other mode providentially delivered and transported to Peloponnesus. If his first landing-place was the Tænarian sanctuary of Neptune, where the fable of Taras was already in vogue, the figure of the dolphin's miraculous interposition could hardly fail to suggest itself in any attempt to commemorate the adventure, whether in poetical form, or by aid of the kindred art of sculpture.

The other question, as to the claim of the ode to genuine origin on the score of its poetical style, affords a curious example of the widely different judgements to which critics of high authority may be led in such matters, with precisely the same data for their guidance. By one commentator[1] of acknowledged taste and judgement, the hymn is characterised as "distinguished by so fine a unity of whole, so rich a fulness of lyric expression, and a style of embellishment so brilliant, yet preserving so happy a medium between superfluity and simplicity, as to entitle it to rank among the most beautiful compositions of its class." Another critic[2] of equally high credit contemptuously describes it as "copious in words, but poor in ideas, and quite unworthy of such a poet as Arion."

Character of his genuine works.

8. In order fairly to balance the merit of these two opinions, it will be proper, in the first place, to arrive at some definite understanding as to the value of the phrase "such a poet as Arion;" or, in other words, as to the qualifications of this celebrated

[1] Welck. Klein. Schr. vol. i. p. 93.; conf. Herm. ad Aristot. Poet. p. 235.

[2] O. Müll. Hist. of Gr. Lit. p. 205.; conf. the more dogmatical and exaggerated criticism of Lehrs, Rhein. Mus. 1847, p. 63.

author in his capacity of poet or composer of verses, apart from his celebrity as musician. That Arion, as a poet, in the narrower sense of the term, was distinguished in any great degree by the higher attributes of genius, there is no ground to believe. The fact that, with the exception of this apocryphal ode, no passage of his works has been preserved, or so much as appealed to, by any antient author, is in itself argument that comparatively little account was made of them, apart from the charm of the musical and dramatic performances with which they were originally connected. Had his literary compositions been distinguished by those higher poetical features which characterise the muse of Archilochus, Sappho, or Alcæus, such neglect on the part of the native public were scarcely conceivable. Hence, although by extant authorities Arion is occasionally designated poet as well as musician, it is in the latter capacity alone that he can be said to be celebrated. Herodotus describes him simply "as the greatest musical performer upon record;" and the same or similar expressions are habitually applied to him by others. While this silence as to any superior excellence of his poems need not necessarily imply an actual deficiency of merit, it goes far to indicate that such merit as they possessed was much of that description characterised by one of the critics already quoted as "consisting in words rather than ideas;" in suavity and elegance of expression, and harmony of sound; in those features, namely, which adapt lyric composition to the lighter festive order of musical performance. As judged merely by this standard, the ode in question is certainly no way unworthy of its accredited author's reputation. There are, however, it can

hardly be denied, both in its style and measure, traces of a later more artificial period of literature than the age of Arion. The measure is of that comparatively lax and disjointed kind which the antient critics[1] considered as a species of lyric recitative or harmonious prose, and is, by consequence, widely at variance with the practice of either the Æolian or Dorian schools in the age of Arion. It savours, at the earliest, of the time of Simonides, whose Lament of Danaë[2] is the first ascertained specimen of this style of composition. The expression and imagery are also in a strain of poetical rhetoric more compatible with the muse of a dithyrambic poet of the Attic period than with that of Arion. Apart from these considerations, it were certainly not very easy to understand how, among so many classical authors who describe, or pointedly allude to, Arion's adventure, Ælian should have been the first to appeal to this ode as an authority on the subject, had his predecessors known of its existence or admitted its genuine character.

To revert, however, from the apocryphal to the more solid claims of Arion to poetical celebrity, it may further be remarked, that the vigorous talent displayed by him in his own proper style of art, as originator or ennobler of the lyro-dramatic order of composition, furnishes no necessary argument of any higher qualifications as a poet in the ordinary sense. A proficiency in such orchestic or pantomimic branches of art might rather, perhaps, as a general rule, be held incompatible with genius of a superior order. The more properly dramatic or mimetic

[1] Dion. Hal. de Struct. Orat. xxvi. [2] Ap. Dion. Hal. loc. cit.

portions of the dithyrambic solemnity were, doubtless, in a great measure extemporaneous, and neither intended nor qualified to stand the test of a written perusal. Nor, accordingly, among the notices of Arion's works, does mention occur of any poem under the general title of Dithyramb. His compositions are limited to the two heads of Proœmia and Odes or Songs; and, as the whole collection is described by the same authorities as consisting of but two books, it was not probably copious. The Proœmia were, there can be little doubt, the introductory hymns or preludes to the dithyrambic performances. The other head might comprehend productions of a very miscellaneous character. The title Orthian or Pythian nome, given by Herodotus and Plutarch to the composition executed by Arion before committing himself to the waves, alludes to a musical rather than a poetical performance.

The wide-spread celebrity of Arion, whether due to his merits as a musician, or to the supernatural protection vouchsafed him by the gods, cannot be better evinced, than by the fact of the group representing him astride on his dolphin having been adopted by numerous cities and states as the device of their coined money. This is a distinction rarely conferred, in any case, but on divinities, founders, or illustrious national heroes. Its extension to an ordinary mortal is here the more remarkable, from the absence, in several instances, of any immediate bond of connexion, by birth, race, or otherwise, between the person so honoured and the communities by whom the honour was conferred. That such a compliment should have been paid to Arion at Methymna or Corinth, localities closely identified

with his own personal history, were nothing extraordinary. But he possessed no such claim on Brundusium, Alisarne, Pisaurus, and other states[1], by whom the like homage was offered to his memory. His statue, in the same attitude as at Tænarus, was also dedicated in the Sanctuary of the Muses at Helicon.[2]

STESICHORUS. 635—554. B. C.

Stesichorus. His birthplace. Locrian origin.

9. Before entering on the life and works of Stesichorus[3], attention may seem to be demanded by another poet, named Xanthus, mentioned by several authorities as having not only preceded Stesichorus in the cultivation of the branch of lyric art common to each, but as having supplied him with a portion of his materials. As, however, the chief or only title to celebrity on the part of Xanthus seems to be this connexion between him and Stesichorus, the few particulars transmitted of the life or labours of the former will be more appropriately introduced as subsidiary to the history of his distinguished successor and supposed plagiarist.

The birthplace of Stesichorus is generally understood to have been Himera[4], a Greek colony on the north coast of Sicily, founded about the XXXIIIrd

[1] Rasche, Lex. Rei Num. vol. I. p. 1098., vol. III. p. 1361.; conf. Supplem. vol. I. p. 1046.; Eckh. Doctr. R. N. vol. I. p. 143. 145., vol. II. p. 502.

[2] Pausan. IX. XXX. 2.

[3] Conf. Suid. v. Στησίχορος; Klein, De vit. et script. Stesichori; Fragm. Stesich. ibid.; Schneidewin, Del. Poes. Gr. p. 325.; Bergk, Poett. lyrr. p. 634.; Welck. Stesichorus, in Kleine Schrift. vol. I. p. 148. sqq. The remains are here quoted according to the arrangement of Klein.

[4] Auctt. ap. Welck. Stesich. p. 150.

Olympiad, B. C. 648.[1] This colony is described as having been peopled by a mixed body of settlers[2], comprising emigrants from the opposite coast of the Italian Locris, Chalcidians from Zancle on the Straits, afterwards called Messana, and Syracusan refugees. The poet's familiar title of Himeræan, with the leading circumstances of his history, establish Himera as at least his place of residence. In some accounts, however, he is described as a native of Pallantium in Arcadia[3]; in others, of a town called Metaurus. This latter name is connected by geographers with two localities: the one situated in the same Italo-Locrian territory which contributed largely to the Himeræan settlement; the other is placed in Sicily[4], and described as a Locrian colony. But the existence of the Sicilian town rests on no sufficient authority, and both notices probably refer to the Italo-Locrian Metaurus.[5] These conflicting accounts of the poet's nativity may be partially explained by the circumstance of the foundation of Himera itself having taken place but a few years prior to his own birth; or, according to some authorities, the two events must have been nearly simultaneous. He might thus have been brought over an infant by one of the earlier colonists; and, if any doubt existed as to his precise place of nativity, it was natural that each district whence an influx of settlers had taken place should, on his subsequently obtaining celebrity, attempt to claim him as its own.[6] In the more popular ac-

[1] Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. I. p. 198. [2] Thucyd. VI. 5.
[3] Suid. v. Στησ. [4] Steph. Byz. v. Ματαυρός.
[5] Strab. VI. p. 256.; conf. Plin. alios ap. Klein. Fragm. Stes. p. 9.
[6] This explanation, even as applied to the legend of his Arcadian origin, which stands altogether alone among the variety of those connecting him with Locris, appears more natural and probable than

counts, however, a Locrian origin at least is assigned him. His connexion, or that of his family, with the Italian Locris is further confirmed by the name of one of his brothers, Mamertius[1], and by that of Tisias, which he himself is said originally to have borne.[2] The one is evidently derived from Mamertium, the other from Tisias, two towns of the Locrian district. Of the four or five[3] different names, mythical or real, ascribed by different biographers to his father, that of Euphemus is supported by the authority of Plato.[4] Another was Euclides, in favour of which might be urged, that Thucydides mentions a Euclides as one of the founders of the Himeræan colony.

Age. Descent from Hesiod.

The birth of Stesichorus may, on a balance of various authorities, be placed about 635 B. C.; his death about 554 B. C. He would thus have lived upwards of eighty years. Lucian assigns him eighty-five.[5] Aristotle[6], however, backed by Philochorus, an esteemed commentator of the poet, is said to have ascribed to him a much higher antiquity, and, at the same time, a father of no less celebrity than Hesiod.[7] His mother, in the same account, was Clymene, the maiden whose imputed seduction by the Bœotian bard was, in the popular legend, the cause of his

Welcker's proposed interpretation of it (op. cit. p. 160.) in a figurative sense.

[1] Suid. v. Στησίχορος. [2] Suid. ibid.; conf. Klein, op. cit. p. 10.

[3] Suid. v. Στησίχορος; conf. Klein, p. 8. sq. [4] Phædr. p. 244.

[5] Klein, Fragm. Stesich. p. 4.; Welck. Stesich. Kleine Schrift. vol. I. p. 149.; conf. Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. I. p. 217., vol. II. p. 5.; Lucian. Macrob. xxvi.

[6] Procl. et Tzetzes, Prolegg. in Hesiod. ap. Gaisf. pp. 7. 15.; if indeed the work of Aristotle here quoted be genuine, which the grammarian himself appears to doubt.

[7] Procl. ad Hesiod. Opp. 268.; conf. Suid. v. Στησίχ. and supra, Vol. II. p. 375.

own death. This account, taken by the letter, is so repugnant to all history, chronology, or common sense, and so broadly disproved by the internal data of the Himeræan poet's works, as to render it, even if sanctioned by so high authority, unworthy of serious attention. Modern commentators, accordingly, are agreed that, in so far as admissible at all, it must be taken in a figurative sense, as indicating not a kindred of blood between the two poets, but a relation between the schools of art over which they respectively presided. To the nature of that relation attention will be directed in the sequel.

His family. Intercourse with Phalaris.

10. The poet's own name, as already stated, is reported to have been originally Tisias, but was altered to Stesichorus[1] in honour of his choric improvements, possibly of his office of president of the choral festivities of his native republic. The latter name appears to have remained hereditary in the family. A second Stesichorus of Himera is mentioned, though on somewhat apocryphal authority, as having visited Greece in the LXXIIIrd Olympiad[2], about seventy years after the death of his more distinguished predecessor; and a third as having gained a prize in a theatrical competition at Athens several generations later.[3]

[1] Such changes are familiar in Greek literary history, as in the cases, among others, of Plato and Theophrastus, whose previous appellations are reported, on apparently authentic testimony, to have been Aristocles and Tyrtamus.

[2] Marm. Par. Ol. LXXIII. 3.

[3] Marm. Par. Ol. CII. 3. These later Stesichori, in whatever number they may have existed, or whatever their connexion with each other or the chief of the family, are so completely unknown to fame, that it is not easy to see how they should, in any quarter, have been raised to the dignity of chronological pivots. There can, indeed, be little doubt that the first Stesichorus of the Parian chronicler (to whose notices of the early lyric authors, as a general rule, very little value attaches) is the original

Mention also occurs of two brothers of Stesichorus, each of whom enjoyed his share of the family talent, in a different branch of pursuit. One, the Mamertius above noticed, is described as a skilful geometrician; the other, Halianax, as a legislator or statesman.[1] Of the poet's daughters, their existence, or adventures, no information has been transmitted, but on the very questionable authority of the epistolary romance which passed current with the moderns up to the time of Bentley as the "Letters of Phalaris,"[2] the celebrated tyrant of Agrigentum. The genuine character of any portion of this correspondence is now universally and justly set aside. Phalaris and Stesichorus appear, however, to have been contemporaneous; and, as the author of the Letters would naturally be anxious to impart plausibility to his fiction, by embodying in it the current historical notices concerning two such remarkable personages, it is not perhaps unlikely that some of the details of their joint biography which the correspondence supplies may be authentic, though not entitled to rank as such unless corroborated by better evidence. The most important of these details, on which all or most of the others depend, is the tyrant's munificent patronage of the poet, in common with other men of letters of the same period. It would appear, however, by reference to better authorities, that the merits of Phalaris as a Mæcenas are fictitious[3], or

Himeræan poet, transferred, by some strange blunder, from the fifth to the eighth decade of the Olympic æra. Conf. Klein. Fragm. Stesich. p. 5. sq.; Welck. Stesich. p. 149. sq.; Boeckh. Corp. Inscr. Gr. vol. II. p. 319.

[1] Suid. v. Στησίχ.; conf. Eudoc. p. 385. Villois.; Hipp. ap. Procl. ad Euclid. ap. Klein. p. 14.

[2] Epist. 67 alibi, ed. Boyle.

[3] Bentl. Opusc. p. 32. sqq. ed. Lips. 1781.

at least that such relations as may have subsisted between him and Stesichorus were of no very friendly nature. The only well attested record of a part taken by the latter in the political affairs of his times describes his successful resistance to the insidious attempt of Phalaris to reduce the poet's native commonwealth, Himera, to subjection. The tyrant, by his intrigues, favoured by the necessities of that republic, then engaged in wars with its neighbours, had procured himself to be elected commander-in-chief of its forces, and subsequently applied for a body guard in support of his authority. From this dangerous concession Stesichorus dissuaded his fellow-citizens by a popular fable, ever since justly esteemed one of the most ingenious of its kind, and for the invention of which Aristotle[1], by whom the whole transaction has been recorded, gives him credit:

"A horse who had hitherto enjoyed the pasturage of a meadow, being disturbed in his possession by a stag, applied to a man for assistance in expelling the intruder. The man replied, that he could only serve him effectually if allowed to mount on his back and put a bit in his mouth. To this the horse agreed; but no sooner was the rider firm in his seat, than the horse discovered, too late, that in avenging his cause against the stag he was become the slave of the man. 'Beware, therefore,' the poet continued, applying the case to his audience, 'lest, in your anxiety to obtain the superiority over your enemies, you yourselves be reduced to subjection. The bit you have already placed in your mouths, by selecting Phalaris to command your troops; but, if you grant him a body guard, you will then have allowed him to mount you, and will become his slaves.'"[2]

Blindness. "Recantation."

11. The most celebrated event, however, in the life of this poet, supplying certainly one of the most interesting chapters in the literary mythology of

[1] Rhetor. II. 20.; conf. Horat. Epist. I. x. 34.

[2] The same story is told by Conon (Narr. 42.), concerning Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, and the Stesichorus of Ol. 73.

Greece, is the temporary blindness with which he was visited, shortly after the composition of his poem on the "Destruction of Troy." This disaster was supposed to have been inflicted on him by the heroine Helen, as a punishment for the calumnious terms in which he had spoken of her in that poem; and the restoration of his sight was attributed to his public recantation of the slander in a subsequent work. The following account of his recovery is given by Conon[1] and Pausanias[2], on the joint authority of the Himeræans and Crotoniates:

"In the Euxine Sea, near the mouth of the Danube, is situated the island called Leuka, sacred to Achilles, and containing a temple and image of that hero. This island is said to have been first visited by Leonymus of Croton; who, being afflicted by a sore wound in the breast, applied for relief to the Delphic oracle. He had received this wound in an engagement between the Crotoniates and the Locrians. It was the custom of the Locrians in marshalling their line of battle to leave an open space in the centre, which they believed to be occupied and defended by their national hero Ajax, son of Oïleus. Leonymus, in the course of the action above alluded to, made an attempt to break through this opening; when he was assaulted and beaten back by a phantom warrior, and received a thrust in the breast from the spear of his mysterious adversary. Unable to procure relief from human surgical skill, he appealed to the Pythoness. Her advice was, that he should visit the temple of Achilles, in the sacred island of Leuka, where the Locrian Ajax would appear to him and heal his sore. This advice he followed. On his return home from his pilgrimage, cured through the agency pointed out by the oracle, he related, among other wonders of the sacred island, that he had found Helen there, living as the spouse of Achilles, and that she had ordered him, on revisiting his native country, to cross over to Himera, and inform Stesichorus that the blindness which had overtaken him was a punishment for his injurious treatment of her. On receiving this communication, the poet composed his Palinodia, or Recantation, and his sight was restored."

[1] Ap. Phot. Narr. 18. [2] III. xix. 11.

Plato[1], who, with other distinguished authors, dwells with pleasure on this legend, gives a somewhat different version of it, describing Stesichorus as having himself, by the inspiration of his muse, divined the source of his calamity. According to other accounts, it was disclosed to him in a dream.[2] The story, stripped of its fabulous appendages, may reduce itself to a simple kernel of fact. An attack of ophthalmia, shortly after the composition of the work in which the heroine was maligned, would easily lead a lively poetical imagination to combine the two circumstances in the relation of cause and effect. This was the more natural, from Stesichorus having, in the unfavourable points of the history of Helen, deferred to the authority of Homer; whose proverbial blindness he might naturally connect, as Plato[3] himself and other authorities very pointedly do, with the same cause to which he had been led to attribute his own. A dream, a vow of redress, a recantation, and subsequent recovery of sight, would suffice to impress a conviction of preternatural interference on a superstitious mind. Some such basis of fact, together with his own actual belief in the reality of the interposition, is implied by the tenor of an extant passage[4] of his works.

Migration to Catana. Death and tomb.

12. Towards the close of his life, Stesichorus is said to have emigrated from Himera, driven probably by the political emergencies of the times, to the kindred Chalcidian city of Catana, on the opposite coast

[1] Phædr. p. 243.; conf. Isocrat. Helen.; alios ap. Klein. Fragm. Stesich. p. 21. sqq.

[2] Suid. ἐξ ὀνείρου.

[3] Loc. cit.; conf. Vit. Hom. Matrit. p. 233., where Homer's blindness is distinctly attributed to the anger of Helen.

[4] Frg. XLIV.

of the island, where he died.[1] Mention occurs of the murder of Stesichorus, "the citharœdic poet," by a robber named Icanus.[2] But the notice, even if authentic, leaves it doubtful whether reference be made to the elder Stesichorus, or to one of the subsequent poets of the name. A sumptuous monument was erected in his honour at one of the gates of Catana, hence called the Stesichorean gate.[3] The structure is described as octangular, supported by eight columns, and raised upon eight steps. From this peculiarity some derived the popular Greek proverb, "all of eight," expressive of uniformity or symmetry. Hence, also, a cast of the dice in which the number eight came up is said to have been called the "cast of Stesichorus."[4] Several authors, alluding to this proverb, describe the tomb as situated at Himera[5]; but the claims of Catana to possess the remains of the poet are preferable. His memory, however, was highly cherished in his native town, where a fine bronze statue of him is described by Cicero as still extant in his time.[6]

Personal character.

Of the personal character of Stesichorus, the comparatively slender criteria supplied by the more authentic notices of his life, or by the internal evidence of his remains, afford a favourable estimate. His successful opposition to the intrigues of Phalaris exhibits him in a creditable light, both as a patriot

[1] Suid. v. Στησίχορος et πάντα ὀκτώ; Antip. in Anthol. Palat. VII. 75.; Phalar. Epist. 54.

[2] Suid. v. ἐπιτήδευμα.

[3] Suid. v. Στησ. et πάντα ὀκτώ, alibi; Antip. sup. cit.

[4] Pollux, IX. 100. For other more subtle, not perhaps more probable, interpretations, see Welcker, p. 170.

[5] Eustath. ad Il. p. 1289.; Pollux, loc. cit.; conf. Klein. p. 27.; Bentl. Opusc. Diss. XV. p. 30. ed. Lips.

[6] In Verr. II. XXXV.

and a statesman; while the ingenious allegory with which he seasoned his counsel displays the lively imagination of the poet, united to the sound judgement of the practical philosopher. The affair of the Palinodia, on the other hand, savours more of the former than the latter quality. The general spirit of his works, whether in the selection of his subjects or in their mode of treatment, is marked by dignity and delicacy of taste, and, upon the whole, by a higher tone of morality than is common with his brother poets of the lyric school; but the characteristic absence from his compositions of that personal or local individuality, which forms the prevailing feature of their style, renders his text proportionally barren of data for judging as to the nicer shades of his own temper or disposition.

Inventive genius. Lyro-epic style.

13. The influence ascribed to Stesichorus in maturing or perfecting the antistrophic order of choral composition has already been considered in treating of the general progress of the lyric art. In another respect, he ranks as the most distinguished master, if not the actual originator, of a new style of poetical composition. Among the more prominent features of distinction between the lyric and the epic schools of Greek poetry, a distinction already frequently noticed and illustrated in these pages, are the preference in the former of subjects of local or contemporary, rather than mythical or heroic, interest, and their treatment in a descriptive or illustrative, rather than a narrative, style. In the works of Stesichorus this distinction entirely disappears. The more essential characteristics of epic composition are there found engrafted on lyric forms. The subjects of all or most of his principal poems are derived from the old ideal mythology, from the events and exploits of the

heroic age; from the same mythical sources, in fact, which supplied the Epic Muse with her favourite materials, and are treated in the same narrative mode as in the page of Homer and Hesiod. Still, however, the metrical style of Stesichorus was so essentially lyric, that, even amid a marked preference for dactylic forms, his remains afford no trace whatever of a continuous series of hexameter or elegiac verses.

This peculiarity of his style is much dwelt on by antient critics, and has been elegantly described by Quintilian[1] as "sustaining with the lyre the burthen of the epic minstrelsy." It helps also to explain the fable which made Stesichorus a son of Hesiod. The epic element of the Himeræan poet's art stood obviously in a nearer relation to the Hesiodic than to the Homeric school of poetry. An ode or choral song, to whatever extent it may have partaken of the epic character, could never, without an entire forfeiture of its lyric character, admit of the wide extent or elaborate structure of the Homeric epopee. The subject of such an ode must have been either in itself comparatively limited, or have been treated in a limited or condensed form. But this comparative brevity is the characteristic of the Hesiodic, as contrasted with the Homeric or Cyclic school of heroic composition. The seat of the former school was, as we have already seen[2], Central Greece; Bœotia, with the neighbouring districts of Phocis and Locris. The prevalence and popularity of the Hesiodic poetry in the latter district are sufficiently proved by the tradition of Hesiod's death within its bounds, and of his burial in the sacred soil of one of its most

[1] x. i. 62.

[2] Conf. Vol. II. p. 374. sqq.

distinguished sanctuaries. But Stesichorus himself was of Locrian origin, or, at least, was proudly claimed as such by the Italo-Locrian colonies. In any attempt, therefore, to connect his epic genius with the mother country by the popular forms of figurative genealogy, both his Locrian blood and his poetical style could hardly fail to point out Hesiod, and Hesiod's Locrian mistress Clymene, as his most appropriate ancestors.[1] How so immediate a relation as that of father and son should, in complete repugnance to the received chronology, have been preferred to the more remote bond of patriarchal kindred usual in such cases, is not so easily explained.

Priority of Xanthus and his Orestia.

14. Admitting, however, the claim of Stesichorus to rank as the earliest author of any high celebrity in the lyro-epic style of composition, it would yet appear that the origin and first cultivation of that style are to be sought in a still earlier source. There is, indeed, reason to believe that the Himeræan poet was not only a successor, but a plagiarist or imitator of a more antient author in the same style, the Xanthus

[1] The Locrian origin of Stesichorus forms a very palpable ingredient in the legend of his blindness and Palinodia. A Crotoniate warrior, suffering from a Locrian wound inflicted by the Locrian Ajax, is sent to Leuca to be healed by the same Locrian hero; and, on his return home, is bearer of a message to the Locrian Stesichorus (supra, p. 213.). Stesichorus is also said (frg. xxiii.) to have copied Hesiod in writing the name of the national Locrian hero's father promiscuously, Oïleus and Ileus. (Eustath. ad Hom. p. 277. 1018.) Pindar, too (Ol. x. 19.), in the marked compliment paid by him to the lustre of the Epic Muse of the Epizephyrian Locris, in connexion with the adventure between Hercules and the Locrian hero Cycnus celebrated by both Hesiod and Stesichorus, may be presumed to have had in view the Locrian kindred of the two poets. Welcker (Stes. p. 154.) has pointed out the further coincidence, that Cuma, the seat of Hesiod's family, in deriving her popular title of "Phriconis," from a Locrian mountain, admitted the share taken by Locrians in her original colonisation.

already alluded to. One of the most remarkable works of the former poet, his Orestia, is stated, on good authority, to have been modelled in a great degree, both in regard to its plan and treatment, on a similar poem, under the same title, by Xanthus.[1] That Stesichorus, however, was neither a treacherous nor an ungenerous plagiarist, and as little ashamed of the obligations under which he lay to his predecessor as disposed to suppress them, is evinced by his having himself appealed to him by name as a prior authority.[2] The birthplace of Xanthus has not been recorded. Of his age the only specific notice is that which asserts his priority to Stesichorus. It has been further conjectured that he must also have preceded Pisander, having, as Stesichorus himself recorded of him[3], represented Hercules after the old Homeric fashion, armed with bow and arrows, instead of club and lion's hide according to the later innovation, of which Pisander was the reputed author, and which was adopted by Stesichorus. This is not, certainly, a very conclusive argument of the antiquity of Xanthus. That poet was distinguished, as appears from other evidence, for a respectful deference to Homer as his text-book of heroic tradition; and there is no reason to suppose he would more readily desert this standard authority in favour of Pisander than of any other innovator. Of his respect for Homer's tradition another example has been transmitted. The daughters of Agamemnon are described by their father in the Iliad as but three in number, Chrysothemis, Laodice, and Iphianassa, to the exclusion of Electra, so celebrated in later fable. Xanthus, in his Orestia, in order to

[1] Athen. XII. p. 513 A.; conf. Klein. Fragm. Stes. p. 83.
[2] Frg. LXII.
[3] Ap. Athen. XII. p. 512. sq.

uphold Homer's authority, without too rudely clashing with the current tradition of his own day, identified Electra with Laodice by a slight variation of the former title into Alectra, as a significant surname subsequently conferred on the heroine, in allusion to the celibacy to which she had been condemned by her mother and Ægisthus.[1] The Orestia is the only poem of Xanthus the title of which has been recorded. No remains of his works have been preserved.

Homeric properties of the style of Stesichorus.

15. But, although Stesichorus may not have been the originator of this order of composition, he appears to have been the only author of any celebrity by whom it was cultivated. Even among those lyric poets who, like himself, aimed at a loftier range of heroic subject and style, no actual parallel can be found. The nearest extant approach to one appears in the odes of Pindar, many of whose encomia on illustrious mortals, or hymns in praise of the gods, contain a large amount of epic material. Still, however, such passages are introduced but as episode or digression. The epic remains subservient to the lyric element, the narrative to the song or ode. With Stesichorus each composition was, in regard to its main subject, substantially an epic poem embodied in the choral forms proper to the higher walks of lyric poetry. Several of his odes celebrated the same adventures which formed the subject of distinguished poems of the Homeric school, and under titles common also to those poems. Such were his Ilii-Persis, or Destruction of Troy, and his Nosti, or Return of the Greeks. A certain slight analogy might also, perhaps, be traced between the Stesichorean ode and the

[1] Ælian. Var. Hist. IV. XXVI.

narrative portion of the dithyramb of Arion, where the exploits and adventures of the god Dionysus were the subject of a mixed epico-lyric celebration. The difference, however, in the general spirit of the dithyramb, its essentially mimetic character, the extent to which its epic element was absorbed by its dramatic and orchestic accompaniments, with the purely religious tendency of the whole ceremonial, preclude any attempt to establish, even collaterally, a connexion between the two orders of composition.

From what has been said, it seems evident that Stesichorus was by nature formed to excel as an epic, rather than a lyric, poet; and that, had he flourished at an earlier period, he would have been a zealous, and probably a successful, cultivator of the regular heroic style. He had, however, the discrimination to perceive that, from the influence of circumstances over which he had no control, that style now presented but a barren and exhausted field for poetical enterprise. He preferred, therefore, by a happy combination of the new and old departments of art, establishing his own claims to celebrity on a more solid and hitherto unoccupied basis. To this preference of heroic subjects and epic treatment he was indebted, in part at least, it may be presumed, for the title and honours which he enjoyed of "the most Homeric" among the melic poets of Greece. "It is the universal opinion of the Greek critics," says Dio Chrysostom[1], "that Stesichorus was a devoted disciple of Homer, and that there is a great resemblance between their works." He is further described by a subtle, but not inappropriate, figure, as "watering

[1] Vol. II. p. 284. Reisk.; conf. vol. I. p. 83. 81.

his own labours with streams derived from the fountains of Homer;"[1] and, in a still more rhetorical strain, the soul of Homer is said, in the vicissitudes of metempsychosis, to have animated the body of Stesichorus.[2] Commentators of high authority also award him the still prouder distinction of having successfully emulated his great original in some of the more excellent attributes of his genius. Longinus[3] classes him with Archilochus, Sophocles, and Herodotus, among the few authors entitled to that distinction. Quintilian[4] commends the Homeric spirit of his dialogue, and his happy conception of his heroes' characters. Dionysius[5] of Halicarnassus passes a similar eulogy on this attribute of his muse, in which he pronounces him superior to Pindar and Simonides. The same critic dwells also on his native ease and unaffected simplicity of style, equally remote from turgid pomp, prosaic insipidity, or elaborate artifice, a beauty which he allows to so few of Homer's more celebrated successors in common with himself.[6] Quintilian[7], however, blames Stesichorus for occasional diffuseness, and in this respect contrasts him unfavourably with Homer. A more fastidious judge of the latter poet might perhaps adduce this as another trait of analogy between the two, it being one of those points on which Homer himself is occasionally open to censure. The imputed defect, as we learn from other sources, consisted, in the case of Stesichorus, in an occasional superfluity of epithets, while his elegant taste in their selection is also commended.[8]

[1] Anthol. Pal. IX. 184. [2] Antip. in Anthol. Pal. VII. 75.
[3] De Subl. XIII. 3. [4] X. i. 62. [5] De vett. Script. p. 421. Reisk.
[6] De comp. Verb. XXIV. [7] Loc. cit.
[8] Hermog. de Form. Orat. II. p. 409. Laurent.

The criticism here again, under both its heads, might be extended to his illustrious predecessor.

These comments[1] are all more or less borne out by the remains of the Himeræan poet. As a general rule, his verse is marked by a sonorous roundness and harmony, seldom rising to the grandeur, but, in terms of the Halicarnassian commentary, free from the inflation or obscurity of Pindar. His text is indeed remarkable for the flowing smoothness and perspicuity of its structure. The parallel between him and Homer is, however, less observable in the matter than the manner of his composition. He exhibits, in fact, in the selection or working up of his epic materials, a frequent preference of versions of the national tradition which, whether the fruit of his own imagination, or derived from secondary epic sources, are not only at variance with those authorised by the pure Homeric minstrelsy, but in themselves eccentric and farfetched.

His works and their remains.

16. The following are the titles, in so far as known, of the epico-lyric compositions of Stesichorus, arranged, as nearly as may be, in the chronological order of their subjects: Europia, Geryonis, Cerberus, Cycnus, Scylla, Athla Peliæ, Syotheræ, Eriphyle, Ilii-Persis, Palinodia, Nosti, Orestia, Calyce, Rhadina. The two last-mentioned poems, although partaking of the same epic character, belong, as will be seen, to a less purely heroic head of celebration than the remainder.

Europia.

The title Europia here, as in the Cyclic poem to which it was common, indicates the subject of the work to have been the settlement of the Cadmean colony in Bœotia. It described the sowing of the dragon's teeth, which was attributed to Minerva, not

[1] Conf. alios ap. Klein. pp. 32, 33.; Welck. Stesich. p. 163.

to Cadmus as in the popular account.[1] The death of Actæon was also mentioned.[2] The very strange version of this latter legend preferred by Stesichorus was by no means an improvement on the vulgar fable, and certainly does not tend to bear out the poet's high reputation for Homeric dignity in the treatment of his subject. The death of the unfortunate hunter was ascribed, not to the anger of Diana at his outrage on the sanctity of her virgin retirement, but to her anxiety to disembarrass her father Jupiter of a rival competitor for the favours of Semele. The expedient to which she resorted to secure the assault of the hero's dogs on his person, by dressing him up in a deer's skin, is also a very poor conceit.[3]

Geryonis. The next four poems in the list relate to as many more or less familiar adventures of Hercules, whom Stesichorus, preferring the authority of Pisander to that of Homer, armed, not with bow and arrows, but with club and lion's skin.[4] In the Geryonis he also adopted, from the same source, the not very genial fable of the aërial voyage of the son of Alcmena, under the patronage, and in the mystical drinking-

Cerberus. goblet, of the sun.[5] The Cerberus treated of the descent of Hercules to Hades, and his victory over the fabulous monster guardian of the palace gates of

Cycnus. Pluto. In his account of the hero's adventure with Cycnus, the same celebrated in the Hesiodic Shield of Hercules, Stesichorus, while referring to the legend of the Shield, and to Hesiod as author of that poem, differed from his reputed poetical father in describing the Theban hero as flying from Cycnus

[1] Frg. XVI. sqq.
[2] Frg. XVII.
[3] Paus. IX. ii. 3.; conf. Apollod. III. iv. 4.
[4] Frg. LXII.; conf. Vol. II. p. 460. sq.
[5] Frg. X.

at their first encounter, on observing Mars arrayed as ally of his opponent. Hence the Greek proverb, "Two to one are too much even for Hercules."[1] In the sequel, when himself backed by Minerva, the hero engages the enemy with the same result as in the Shield. This account of the combat, as more creditable to Cycnus, may have been preferred by Stesichorus in compliment to his Locrian clansmen of the Epicnemidian territory, Cycnus being a hero of that district. The same version of the legend is sanctioned by Pindar[2], in a passage where he dwells in a highly complimentary tone on the merits of the Italian Locris, and which also appears to contain an allusion to the previous poem of Stesichorus. The Scylla[3] recorded, it would appear, not the more celebrated encounter of Ulysses with the monster heroine whose name the poem bears, but a previous adventure of Hercules, by whom the same Scylla, amid the anomalies of the popular mythology, had been slain[4], although alive and in full activity in the next generation. The adventures of Ulysses in the Straits appear to have been treated in the Nosti.[5]

Scylla.

The Athla Peliæ was a description of the funeral games in honour of Pelias. Among the heroes who took part in them, Meleager and Amphiaraüs seem to have been chiefly distinguished.[6]

Athla Peliæ.

The subject of the Syotheræ[7] is less clearly ascertained. That it described a boar hunt, the name itself indicates. But as Hercules and Meleager were

Syotheræ.

[1] οὐδὲ Ἡρακλεῖ πρὸς δύο. Aristid. vol. II. p. 102. (172.) Jebb; Schol. ad loc.; Archilochus ap. Aristid. loc. cit.; Plato, Phædo, p. 89. The above citation of Archilochus, if authentic, would imply this version of the legend to be older than the time of Stesichorus.

[2] Pind. Ol. XI. 15. Boeckh, Schol. ad l. [3] Klein, p. 72.

[4] Schol. ad Od. XII. 85. [5] Frg. XXXV. [6] Klein, p. 54. [7] Klein, p. 72.

both favourite heroes of Stesichorus, and as the single extant citation throws no light on the details of the text, it becomes the less easy to decide between the claims of the Erymanthian and those of the Calydonian adventure, the two most celebrated of their class. The plural form of the title might perhaps imply that both were comprehended, or that the poem may have treated generally of the more famous boar hunts of the heroic age.

Eriphyle. The Eriphyle[1] derived its name from the spouse of Amphiaraüs, who, bribed by Polynices, betrayed her husband into a participation in the first Theban war, in which he was destined to perish. The poem appears, from the existing notices of its contents, to have comprised a large portion of the events of the war.

Ilii-Persis. 17. The title of the Ilii-Persis, or Destruction of Troy, sufficiently explains the subject of the poem. Of its plan there exists, in addition to the preserved notices of the antients, a valuable elucidation in the extant piece of sculpture called the Iliac Table. This celebrated monument, already cited in treating of the Cyclic poems, represents, in a series of reliefs, the more important adventures of the Siege, according to various popular authorities. As a work of the Roman period, it has evidently been prepared with more immediate reference to Roman feelings and associations. Hence, in the portion of it devoted to the sack of the city, the version of that catastrophe given by Stesichorus has been preferred (as is also stated in the inscription annexed to the relief); being that upon which were founded the flight and subsequent adventures of Æneas, as related by Virgil. The

[1] Klein, p. 74. sq.

existing fragments show the narrative to have also embraced, in the form either of introduction or of episode, a considerable portion of the previous history of Helen, which it seems to have been a special object of Stesichorus, in this poem, to represent in the most unfavourable light.

Venus, in revenge for a slight put on her by Tyndareus, in excluding her from the honours of a sacrifice offered to the rest of the deities, pronounced on him the curse, that he should be the father of incontinent and adulterous daughters.[1] Under the influence of this malediction, Helen, at a very early age, became the captive and mistress of Theseus, to whom she bore Iphigenia. The child was adopted by Clytemnestra, who passed it off as her own offspring by her husband Agamemnon.[2] When retaken by her brothers, the Dioscuri, and restored to her paternal mansion at Sparta, Helen was courted by the Greek chiefs; and a vow was exacted by Tyndareus from her suitors to defend the rights of the fortunate candidate.[3] Her subsequent marriage to Menelaus, her elopement with Paris, and the ten years' war for her recovery, were related in substantially the same form as in the tradition of Homer.[4]

The main narrative of the poem, as figured on the relief, commenced with the Wooden Horse standing in the Trojan agora. The Greek heroes, to the number of one hundred [5], are issuing by a ladder from the side of the colossal image, and dealing death and devastation around them. Priam and Hecuba take refuge at the altar of Jupiter Hercëus, where the old king is slain. Several of his sons lie prostrate by his side. Ajax Oïleus, not far off, is seen dragging Cassandra from the steps of the temple of Pallas. In another direction, Helen, flying for refuge to the sanctuary of Venus, is seized by the hair, and detained by Menelaus. The Greeks are about to stone her, as the fitting punishment of her adulteries; but such is the magic influence of her beauty that, as they gaze on her, the weapons drop [6] powerless from their hands. Hard by, Æthra, mother of Theseus, who had been captured and enslaved by the Dioscuri in the rescue of Helen from that prince, and had since acted as the waiting-maid of their sister, is recognised and led off

[1] Frg. LXXIV. [2] Frg. XXI. [3] Frg. XX. [4] Frg. XX.
[5] Frg. XXVI. [6] Frg. XXVII.

by her own two grandsons. Below, Æneas is seen issuing from the gate of the city into the open country, with Anchises on his back, who bears in his hands the Trojan penates. Mercury conducts Æneas by one hand; with the other Æneas leads Ascanius; Creusa follows behind. Numbers of fugitive Trojans, male and female, assemble round the tomb of Hector, without the walls; among them are Hecuba, Andromache, Helenus, and Polyxena. Hecuba is preserved from captivity through the interposition of Apollo, by whom she had been beloved in her youth, and is transported by the god to his Lycian sanctuary.[1] Neoptolemus sacrifices Polyxena on the tomb of his father Achilles, in the presence of Calchas and Ulysses. Anchises, Æneas, and Ascanius, but now without Creusa, embark, attended by the pilot Misenus, for Hesperia.

Among other remarkable innovations on the old Homeric tradition observable in this poem, was that which described Hector, in the Iliad the favourite hero of Apollo, as the son of that deity, offspring of an illicit connexion between him and Hecuba.[2] Hence, too, Hecuba, instead of being led away captive by the Greeks, as in the Cyclic version, is here preserved by her divine paramour, and transported safe to his own sanctuary in Lycia. The legend which traced the incontinent habits of Helen and Clytemnestra to the wrath of Venus, seems to have been common to Hesiod, the fabulous father of Stesichorus.[3]

Palinodia.

18. In the Palinodia, or "Recantation," Stesichorus retracting, as the title implies, under the circumstances already noticed, the opprobrious statements promulgated against Helen in his former poem, gave an entirely different version of her life and adventures. Herodotus[4] reports the following legend to have been current among the Egyptian priests in his time, and to have been communicated by them to him. Helen, according to these authorities, instead of sailing to Troy with Paris, had, when that hero touched on

[1] Frg. XXVIII.
[2] Frg. XXIX.
[3] Schol. Eurip. Orest. 249.
[4] II. 113. sqq.

their coast on his voyage from Sparta, been seized and detained by their king Proteus. In her place, a phantom was delivered to Paris, and enacted during the whole period of the war the part of the real heroine, who was restored to Menelaus when he visited Egypt on his return from the siege. This far-fetched and insipid fable, though more worthy of an Egyptian than of a Hellenic imagination, could hardly have been of Egyptian invention. It originated probably in some section of the early epic school of poetry, was introduced into Egypt by Greek settlers, and readily adopted by the native priesthood, with other incongruous blendings of Greek and Egyptian fable tending to enlarge the credit of their own school of mythology. Upon this legend Stesichorus so far improved, as to deny that Helen had ever quitted Lacedæmon at all, or by consequence sinned against her nuptial vow, devolving, from the first, on the phantom alone the functions of both fugitive and adulteress.[1] This appears from the still extant exordium of the Pălinodia, which, in an abrupt and excited tone, at once announces the author's object in composing the poem, and offers a summary of its contents:

οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος οὗτος·
οὐ γὰρ ἔβας ἐν νηυσὶν ἐϋσσέλμοις,
οὐδ' ἵκεο πέργαμα Τροίας.[2]

Untrue 's the tale I told; for ne'er didst thou
The briny sea in swift-oared galley plough,
Or visit lofty Troy.

The words "Untrue 's the tale" passed into a familiar proverb, ennobled by the use of Plato, Cicero, and other distinguished classics.[3] A still more strik-

[1] Dio Chrys. vol. I. p. 323. Reisk.; conf. Plat. alios ap. Klein. p. 93. sq.
[2] Frg. XLIV.
[3] Ap. Klein. p. 91. sqq.

ing living test of the celebrity of the poem and of its author is the adoption and inveterate use[1] of the term "recant," or "sing back again," in the sense of retract or unsay, in the vocabulary, not only of Greece, but of civilised Europe. This phrase, however familiar and expressive it may by long usage have become to our ears, has no intrinsic sense or point but in connexion with Stesichorus and his Palinodia. How the sequel of the real Helen's history was treated by him, if indeed he ventured to grapple with it at all; whether he left her concealed in her husband's palace at Sparta, or transported her at once to the isle of Leuka, to be reserved for her future marriage to Achilles, are points on which no light is shed, either by the fragments or the quoters of the poem. The Palinodia is, there can be no doubt, the same work also cited occasionally as the "Encomium of Helen," sometimes simply as the "Helen" of Stesichorus.[2] It appears to have comprised a description of the nuptials of the heroine and Menelaus, in the form of an episode, introduced, it may be presumed, as a medium for the more effective celebration of the beauty and purity of the bride.[3]

Nosti. The Nosti, or "Return of the Greeks,"[4] forming a sequel to the "Destruction of Ilium," narrated, in considerable detail, the destinies of the heroes, "whether they perished in the sea, were driven to "wander on foreign shores, or reached their native "land in safety." The "Scylla," if devoted to the adventure of Ulysses with the monster heroine whose name it bears, could have been little more than an

[1] Auctt. ap. Klein. sup. cit. et p. 95. sqq.
[2] Suid. v. Στησ.; Athen. III. p. 81., X. p. 451.; conf. Klein. p. 21. sqq.
[3] Frg. XLVI.
[4] Klein, p. 81. sq.; frg. XXXIV. sqq.

episode of the Nosti. Hercules, however, as has been seen, has prior claims to the honour of hero of the former poem.

The Orestia was divided into two books[1], and, judging from the numerous quotations of its text, must have been a poem of some length, embracing various heads of episodical matter, besides its own immediate subject. Here, again, Stesichorus prefers the more eccentric varieties of tradition. The royal residence of Agamemnon was placed at Lacedæmon, instead of Mycenæ.[2] The invention of alphabetic letters was ascribed to Palamedes[3]; whether that of the whole number, or merely of the additional four for which later grammarians gave that hero credit, is not distinctly stated. Orestia.

19. The fables which supply the subjects of the Calyce and Rhadina, the two remaining poems on the list, are of a somewhat different character from those hitherto examined. The "Calyce"[4] narrated the sorrows of a nymph of the same name, who, deeply enamoured of a youth called Euathlus[5], prayed to Venus that she might obtain him as her husband; but, failing in her efforts to propitiate the goddess, or to inspire the object of her affection with an honourable passion in return, she sacrificed herself to her love by a leap from the Leucadian cliff. Calyce.

Rhadina, a virgin of the town of Samos on the coast of Elis, was beloved by a tyrant of Corinth, and delivered up[6] by her parents, or the native rulers, Rhadina.

[1] Bekk. Anecd. Gr. p. 783.
[2] Schol. Eurip. Orest. 46.
[3] Bekk. Anecd. Gr. loc. cit.
[4] Frg. LIV.; Athen. XIV. p. 619.
[5] Stesichorus seems here to have mixed up the legend of the rustic "Lay of Calyce" (supra, Ch. ii. § xix.) with Hesiod's tradition of a nymph of the same name, daughter of Hesiod, and spouse of Aëthlius. Marcksch. Fragm. Hesiod. XII.; conf. Apollod. I. vii. 3. 5. Klein, p. 105.
[6] Whether as bride or mistress is not distinctly stated.

an unwilling victim to his passion. Her cousin and lover, Leontychus, pursued her to Corinth; and, in an attempt to rescue her, both were slain by the tyrant, who, in a fit of remorse, delivered up the bodies to their friends.[1] This adventure, of all those treated by Stesichorus, is the only one which can, with any probability, be considered as embodying a historical fact, or at least a tradition connected with the historical age of Greece. The Corinthian "tyrant" could hardly have been the celebrated Periander, the poet's contemporary, although the adventure were in unison with the popular accounts of Periander's character.[2] These two poems, the Calyce and the Rhadina, offer the first recorded examples of the treatment, in classical Greek poetry, of that species of romantic love story which afterwards acquired so great a popularity in the pages of Parthenius, Heliodorus, and other prose authors of the Roman and Byzantine periods.[3]

Pæans. Apocryphal poems.

By various modern commentators the collective works of Stesichorus have been supposed to comprise, besides the epico-lyric poems for which he was chiefly celebrated, numerous other more properly lyric pro-

[1] Strabo, VIII. p. 347. A free version has here been given of Strabo's account, which is somewhat ambiguous and confused; but the substance of it seems to be as embodied in the text. What the mission of Rhadina's brother to Delphi, mentioned by the geographer, had to do with the matter does not appear.

[2] The Samians of Asia, however, also claimed Rhadina as their own, according to Pausanias (VII. v. 6.).

[3] A poem on the subject of the celebrated Sicilian pastoral hero Daphnis has also been ascribed to Stesichorus by modern critics, and has supplied material for elaborate commentaries to Welcker, O. Müller, and others. But the single vague passage of Ælian (V. H. x. xviii.), on which the existence of such a poem has been assumed, does not appear sufficient to bear out any such conclusion; although it seems probable that Stesichorus may have alluded to the fate of the fabulous Himeræan shepherd boy in some of his works.

ductions: hymns, pæans, erotica, elegies, scolia, bucolica, and metrical fables. That a popular lyric poet should have composed many such pieces seems in itself certainly probable. With the exception, however, of a convivial pæan[1] and of a hymn to Pallas[2], the notices of which last are, at the best, extremely doubtful, there is no authentic record of works belonging to any of those branches of composition having been ascribed to Stesichorus. The poem cited by the title "Encomium of Helen" has already been disposed of. The "Epithalamium of Helen"[3] seems to have formed part either of the Ilii-Persis or the Palinodia, probably of the latter. The erotic poems[4] were the Calyce, Rhadina, and others possibly in the same style, the names of which have perished. Of bucolic poems or elegies by Stesichorus there is no authentic notice.[5] The pæan, or pæans, attributed to him appear to have been of the kind usually appropriated to social festivities.[6] The scolia somewhat vaguely ascribed to Stesichorus, like those quoted of various other illustrious lyric poets, were apparently nothing more than appropriate passages selected from the body of his works, and introduced as parts or members of the popular roundelays or catches to which attention has been directed in a former chapter.[7]

[1] Timæ. ap. Athen. VI. p. 250. [2] Frg. XCVII.

[3] Schol. Theocr. Id. XVIII. These various compositions, or rather titles, are comprehended under the common head of ὕμνους εἰς Ἑλένην by Conon, Narrat. 18. ap. Phot. [4] Klein, p. 100. sq.

[5] The only allusion to Bucolica occurs in the passage of Ælian relative to Daphnis, already disposed of. Elegies are mentioned but in the letters of the Pseudo-Phalaris, and in terms which do not here warrant the assumption of any historical basis for his fictions. Klein, p. 114.; Welck. p. 214.

[6] Athen. VI. p. 250.; Hesych. v. Τριὰς Στησιχόρου.

[7] Conf. Welck. Stesich. p. 211.

Fables. Still less authority is there for the belief that Stesichorus composed metrical fables of the Æsopic order. The moral tales of this description above referred to, that of the Horse and Stag, for example, quoted by Aristotle[1], are ascribed to the poet in his political, not his poetical, capacity. Another similar piece of advice, embodied in a like figurative form, is that recorded on the same authority[2] as having been imparted by Stesichorus to the Locrians, where he warns them to beware "lest the reckless impolicy of "their conduct should cause their crickets to sing on "the ground;" in other words, lest their country should be invaded, its vines and olive trees cut down, and the wood-crickets no longer perch on their branches. There is as little reason here as in the former case to suppose that the lesson was delivered in a metrical form. The fable of "The Man and the Eagle," diffusely narrated by Ælian[3], is also stated by that author, in somewhat ambiguous terms, to have been cited by Crates the grammarian from a "rare work" of Stesichorus. Admitting the substance of this notice to be correct, the story could have formed but an epilogue or illustration, not the principal subject of the supposed work. It was to the following effect:

A party of reapers, reposing during the heat of the day, sent one of their number to draw water from a fountain. The man on approaching the spot saw an eagle entwined in the coils of a large serpent, and in the last gasp of strangulation. Hastening, with pious zeal, to the rescue of Jove's messenger, he cut the serpent in two with his sickle, and the bird recovered and escaped.

[1] Rhet. II. xx. Tauchn.

[2] Arist. Rhet. II. xxi. (xxii.) alibi. Similar is our own popular proverb of "making the squirrels walk," denoting a great fall of wood.

[3] Hist. An. XVII. 37. and ap. Klein. p. 111. sq.

Returning to his companions, the reaper, whose turn it was to act as cupbearer, mixed the water with a due proportion of the common stock of wine, and poured out to each man his share of the beverage. But, as he was about to enjoy his own portion, the eagle, which had remained hovering around him, flew against the cup and dashed it to the ground. On the point of bitterly reproaching the bird for so unworthy a requital of his late good offices, the man happened to look towards his comrades, and saw those who had first drunk writhing in the agonies of death. The water had been poisoned by the venom of the snake. He now saw that to the gratitude of the eagle he was indebted, in his turn, for the preservation of his life.

Grammatical subdivision of his works.

20. The remains of Stesichorus comprise about fifty lines of various lengths and characters. His whole works are subdivided by the grammarians into twenty-six books.[1] As this number considerably exceeds that of his entire poems, which has been given above in so far as their names have been preserved, it may be presumed that in the antient enumeration the separate parts or books of poems were taken into account.

Their rehearsal.

It was stated in a previous chapter[2] that, while Alcman enjoyed the credit of originating the antistrophic style of composition, to Stesichorus was assigned the honour of carrying its elementary principle to maturity, by the addition of the epode to the two simpler alternations of choral response, and of having thus laid the entire basis of the variety of forms which the antistrophic ode assumed in the hands of the Attic dramatists. Among the fragments of his works are none of sufficient continuity to afford any clear insight into the actual arrangement of his chorus; but from secondary sources it may be inferred that there was much general correspondence

[1] Suid. v. Στησιχ.

[2] Supra, p. 60.

between his odes and those of Pindar, in regard, at least, to the length and varied character of their strophes. And here the question arises, to what extent the continuous heroic narrative of the Stesichorean odes could, consistently with the dignity or propriety of their epic character, have admitted of a purely choral performance. The analogy of those of Pindar, which often comprise a large amount of historical matter, scarcely applies here. The epic is with that poet still altogether subordinate to the lyric element, and each ode in its integrity is essentially adapted to the forms of lyric ceremonial. But it is less easy to imagine a similar adaptation in the case of the Ilii-Persis or the Nosti of Stesichorus. Perhaps, therefore, the more probable view, and which seems also to receive support from antient authority, may be, that the compositions of Stesichorus, those at least in which the epic character chiefly predominates, were destined for recital in a more continuous form, and with a less varied style of musical accompaniment, somewhat in the manner of the rhapsodial rehearsals of Homer, Hesiod, and other poets of the regular epic school.[1]

Metres.

The metres of Stesichorus, as exemplified in his remains, are all reducible to certain lofty and sonorous combinations of dactylic or trochaïc rhythm, comprehending, besides the primary forms of each of those measures, the choriambic, anapæstic, and Dorian epitrite.[2] The monotony of effect, which might otherwise have been expected to result from a repetition of these more grave and solemn metrical cadences in a text of prolonged epic continuity, was relieved by the

[1] Chamæl. ap. Athen. xiv. p. 620.; conf. Welck. Stesich. p. 166.

[2] Klein, Fragm. p. 41. sqq.; Welck. Stesich. p. 171. sqq.

variety of new and agreeable turns which he imparted to them. Hence the number of such combinations which, besides their more technical definition, bear the distinctive surname of Stesichorean, and most of which have been used by Pindar. The peculiar harmony and suavity of the versification of Stesichorus, combined with his lucid perspicuity of style, beauties so much dwelt on by the antient critics above quoted, were figured by the elegant fable, that when an infant, shortly after his birth, a nightingale was found perched on his lips, warbling her sweetest notes.[1] The authority of the commentators is here amply confirmed by the poet's remains. The following passage embodying his own fantastical allegory, and that of the lyric schools of his day, relative to the sun's evening course in the heaven, will serve for more effectual illustration, owing to the beauty of the work being so little dependant on that of the material:

Ἀέλιος δ' Ὑπεριονίδας δέπας ἐσκατέβαινε
χρύσεον, ὄφρα δι' ὠκεανοῖο περάσας,
ἀφίκοιθ' ἱερᾶς ποτὶ βένθεα νυκτὸς ἐρεμνᾶς·
ποτὶ ματέρα, κουριδίαν τ' ἄλοχον,
παῖδάς τε φίλους· ὁ δ' ἐς ἄλσος ἔβα
δάφναισι κατάσκιον
ποσσὶ πάϊς Διός.

Hyperion now his golden car[2] ascends,
And o'er the trackless wave of ocean bends
His radiant course, to where night's sacred shades
Heaven's light absorb; there, in his laurel glades,
His mother, his fond spouse, and children dear,
His daily toil with their sweet converse cheer.

[1] Christodorus in Anthol. Pal. vol. i. p. 31. ed. Tauchnitz; conf. Plin. H. N. x. xxix. (xliii.)

[2] The author, for the sake of his own verse, has taken the liberty of substituting *car* for *cup*.

It is not easy to imagine any thing in language more perfectly harmonious, as to structure, measure, and sound, than these seven lines. The remark may be extended to almost every other passage in the collection. The dialect of Stesichorus is usually defined as Doric[1], but approaches, as befitted the general character of his muse, more nearly to the old epic idiom than that of any other melic poet of this period. It might, perhaps, be more accurately characterised as Homeric, seasoned with Doric or Æolic forms; a combination representing both the character of the poet's own muse, and the mixed origin of the Himeræan colony.[2] Plutarch[3] describes Stesichorus as exhibiting in the musical arrangement of his odes a preference for the nomes of Olympus, especially the harmatian and orthian nomes of that master; a style of music which has above been shown to be equally adapted to the more dignified and to the more impassioned orders of lyric performance. The poet himself is stated, on the same authority[4], to have been the author of several improvements in the musical art, probably in its adaptation to his own peculiar style of lyric composition.

Dialect.

SACADAS. XENOCRITUS. EUNOMUS. 586 B. C.

Other epico-lyric poets.

21. Attention has already been called, in connexion with the life and works of Stesichorus, to one earlier

[1] Suid. et Eudocia, v. Στησίχ. That is, the poetical Doric of the Spartan school. There is no trace of the Siculo-Doric; which was not matured, as a cultivated dialect, out of the provincial idiom of the island, till a later period,

[2] Thucyd. vi. 5. [3] De Mus. vii. [4] Plut. de M. xii.

cultivator of the same field of poetical pursuit. Some additional notices are here subjoined of two other less celebrated lyric poets, whose compositions partook of the Stesichorean character, Sacadas of Argos and Xenocritus of Locris.[1] Both appear, from the not very distinct notices of their age, to have been younger contemporaries of Stesichorus.[2] Both are more celebrated as musicians than as poets, in which former capacity they have already been brought under notice.[3]

Sacadas of Argos.

Sacadas composed a poem on the same subject, in the same epico-melic style, and under the same title, as the Ilii-Persis of Stesichorus.[4] The most honourable testimony to the value of the poetry of Sacadas is its reported selection, by the Messenians, for performance in the musical festivities held in honour of the reestablishment of their national independance by Epaminondas.[5] It may hence also be inferred, that the subjects of some of his works were connected with Messenian history.

Xenocritus of Locris.

Of the blind-born[6] Locrian poet and musician, Xenocritus, it is recorded[7], that "he composed songs on heroic arguments embodying an action." The coincidence implied in this definition between his style and that of Stesichorus seems to bear some historical relation to the fact, that Xenocritus was a native of the Italian Locris, and founder or chief of a school of music which derived its name from that district. As all the traditions regarding Stesichorus point to the same Locris as the source whence that poet

[1] Plut. de M. VIII. IX. X.
[2] Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. I. p. 201. 229.; conf. Plut. locc. citt.
[3] Supra, p. 44. sq.
[4] Athen. XIII. p. 610 c.
[5] Pausan. IV. XXVII. 4.; conf. supra, p. 46.
[6] Heraclid. Politic. ed. Schneidew. XXX.
[7] Plut. de Mus. X.

also derived his origin, with the peculiar bent of his poetical genius, it may the more naturally be inferred, that the common epico-lyric style of the two authors had its first beginnings in Italy. Beyond the fact of their being to some extent contemporary, no distinct notice has been preserved of their relative ages; nor, consequently, how far they may have stood towards each other in the relation of disciple or master. There could, however, have been but little analogy between them in respect to the moral tendency of their works; the Locrian school proper, both of music and poetry, being remarkable for its meretricious character[1], while that of Stesichorus was distinguished by attributes of an entirely opposite description. It is to be regretted, in reference to the historical question here involved, that no record has been transmitted of the birthplace of Xanthus, the acknowledged predecessor of both authors. But the argument in favour of Locris, as remote ancestress of this branch of art, receives further support from Lucian's introduction of Eunomus, another apparently still earlier Locrian poet, as leader of a chorus comprising also Arion, Anacreon, and Stesichorus, in the "lyric performance of epic compositions."[2] As this Eunomus could have had no claim to any such precedence on the ground of merit, the honour thus awarded to him can only be due to his priority of age. He seems, however, like Sacadas and Xenocritus, to have been more celebrated as a musician than as a poet in the same Locrian school. The following pleasing fable is related of him:[3]

Eunomus and his cricket.

[1] See supra, p. 45. [2] Ver. Hist. II. 15.

[3] Timæus ap. Strab. VI. p. 260.; Lucian. loc. cit.; Conon, Narr. 5.; Phot. Ep. 93.; Ælian. Hist. An. V. ix.

"The boundary between the Locrian and Rhegian territories was a deep ravine, remarkable for the peculiarity that the wood-crickets of the Rhegian bank were dumb, while those on the Locrian side were gifted with even more than their usual vocal powers.[1] While Eunomus and a neighbouring Rhegian artist, named Ariston, were preparing for a competition in the citharœdic performance of the Pythian festival, a conversation took place between them as to their respective prospects of success. Ariston affected to talk proudly, as member of a family devoted to the worship of Apollo. The Locrian retorted: 'It were strange should the prize be awarded to a native of a district where even the crickets, so proverbial for the sweetness of their music, were silent.' During the ensuing contest, a string of the lyre of Eunomus gave way, and he despaired of success; but a cricket, bearing in grateful remembrance his late compliment to her race, took up her post on the stump of the broken chord, and so effectually performed its functions with her voice that the victory was declared in his favour."

[1] The wood-cricket is, throughout the poetical literature of Greece and Italy, from Homer and Hesiod downwards, celebrated for the sweetness of its note; and its song is hence, conjointly with that of the nightingale, the favourite symbol of music and lyric poetry. Foreigners, however, on first visiting the South of Europe, usually find the monotonous chirp or hiss of this animal, which fills the air during the great heat of the summer months, extremely unpleasant. The opposite feeling on the part of the natives is evidently the result of no different estimate of the actual harmony of the same chirp or hiss, but of an association of the sound with the fine season during which it prevails, and with the blooming vines, olives, and other rich fruit trees, on the branches of which the animal chiefly perches. The author, from an experience of many years residence in Italy, can vouch in his own case for the full influence of this association.

CHAP. V.

ALCÆUS. SAPPHO. DAMOPHYLA. ERINNA.

1. ALCÆUS. HIS LIFE AND TIMES. — 2. HIS CHARACTER, POLITICAL AND PERSONAL. — 3. HIS WORKS: STASIOTICA, EROTICA, CONVIVIAL SONGS, HYMNS. — 4. METRES INVENTED OR CULTIVATED BY HIM. — 5. SAPPHO. — 6. HER BIRTHPLACE, AGE, FAMILY, AND SOCIAL RELATIONS. — 7. HER LOVE FOR PHAON. HER LEUCADIAN LEAP. — 8. ORIGIN OF THE RITE. — 9. EVIDENCE FOR AND AGAINST HER PERFORMANCE OF IT. — 10. HER PERSONAL APPEARANCE. MORAL HABITS. — 11. FALLACY OF THE LATE POPULAR ESTIMATE OF HER CHARACTER. — 12. HOW FAR REPRESENTED BY THE ANTIENTS AS A COURTESAN. — 13. HOW REPRESENTED IN THE COMIC DRAMA OF ATHENS. 14. APOLOGY FOR HER CHARACTER DERIVED FROM THE FREEDOM OF ÆOLIAN MANNERS. — 15. HER CHARACTER AS PORTRAYED BY HERSELF IN HER ODE TO VENUS. — 16. IN HER OTHER WORKS. — 17. HER RELATIONS TO HER FEMALE ASSOCIATES. — 18. CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF HER GENIUS AND WORKS. HER METRES. — 19. BRANCHES OF COMPOSITION CULTIVATED BY HER. — 20. DAMOPHYLA. ERINNA.

ALCÆUS.[1] 611 B.C.

Alcæus, his life and times.

§ 1. THAT intimate connexion with the realities of contemporary life, which forms so prominent a characteristic of Greek lyric poetry, acquires a peculiar value in the case of authors actively engaged in public affairs. The works of such poets often supply, in the earlier imperfect stages of prose history, the best and most authentic records of contemporary events. This peculiarity of the Lyric Muse has already been largely illustrated in the cases not only of Tyrtæus and Callinus, whose poetry is solely, or chiefly, of a political tendency, but in those of Ar-

[1] Matthiæ, Alcæi Reliquiæ; Gaisf. Poett. minn. ed. Lips. vol. III. p. 317.; Schneidewin, Delectus Poesis Gr. § III. p. 262.; Bergk. Poett lyrr. Gr. p. 569.; conf. Welcker, Alcæus, in Kl. Schrift. vol. I. p. 126. The remains are here cited according to the number and arrangement of Matthiæ, unless where another collection is specified in the reference.

chilochus and others, whose materials are derived from sources of private and personal rather than of public interest. The subject of the present memoir, if not so exclusively a political poet as Tyrtæus, was a no less zealous politician, from necessity as well as from choice. In no other case, accordingly, with the exception perhaps of that of the Spartan bard, is the history both of the poet and the man more inseparably interwoven with that of the times in which he lived.[1]

Alcæus of Mitylene, in the isle of Lesbos, was a member of one of the principal families of that republic. His lifetime coincided with a period during which his native country, while frequently engaged in foreign wars, was agitated also by a constant strife of internal factions, in which his rank as a citizen, with his ambitious spirit and vehement temper, led him to bear a prominent part.

The contending interests in the state of Mitylene, at this period, appear to have been ranged under two comprehensive parties or factions. The one may be called the constitutional party, consisting of the middle class of citizens and the better-disposed portion of the nobles, each of which bodies was content to assert its own just privileges in conjunction with the general liberties of the republic. The opposing faction comprised the chiefs of certain powerful families, who, aided by the lower more servile order of democracy, endeavoured, as an oligarchal body, to engross the supreme authority; and each of whom seems also to have been ready, when opportunity offered, to usurp the whole of that authority

[1] This feature of his muse is pointedly noticed by the antients. Horat. Carm. II. xiii. 26.; conf. Matth. Fragm. p. 2.

to himself, as sole despot or tyrant, at the expense of his fellow-oligarchs. The family of Alcæus, itself belonging to the higher order of aristocracy, appears to have sided sometimes with the one, sometimes with the other party, as happened to suit the object of its leaders. Hence the poet and his brothers, while not averse to oligarchal government, when themselves allowed a due share of its power and privileges, were easily converted into enthusiastic patriots and supporters of the constitution, when any breach of established constitutional forms took place for the sole benefit of others or to their own detriment.

The active life of Alcæus may be dated from the XLIId Olympiad, 611 B.C.[1] In that year the poet's brothers, Cicis and Antimenidas, are mentioned as leading associates of Pittacus in his successful conspiracy against the usurpation of the tyrant Melanchrus, whom they deposed and slew.[2] Not long afterwards, during the war between the Athenians and Mitylenæans for the possession of the town of Sigeum, the military character of Alcæus was sullied, in an unsuccessful action, by the loss of his buckler, cast from him in the hurry of his flight. This trophy, whether from his celebrity as a poet, or his prowess as a warrior, the Athenians thought sufficiently important to be suspended as a votive offering in the Sigean temple of their patron goddess.[3] It may, perhaps, seem doubtful, in the face of so untoward an occurrence, whether Alcæus really was as valiant a soldier as his martial songs and impetuous spirit

[1] Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. I. pp. 216. 219. 225.

[2] Diog. Laert. I. iv. 74.; Suid. vv. Πιττακός et Κίκις; Clint. locc. citt.

[3] Herodot. v. xcv; Strab. XIII. p. 600.; Matth. ad frg. IX.

would imply. The antients[1], however, in spite of this single blemish on his scutcheon, are unanimous in admitting and celebrating his military prowess; and the same apology for the self-imputed delinquency may be advanced in his case as in the parallel case of Archilochus. Like his distinguished predecessor, Alcæus was not ashamed to allude to his mishap in one of his odes, addressed in the form of a poetical letter from the field of battle to a friend.[2]

Alcæus afterwards appears as an adherent of the constitutional party, in the resistance offered by them to the attempts made by a new series of turbulent demagogues, successfully it would seem in several instances, to reestablish despotic power. The most formidable of these leaders was Myrsilus[3], whose death, from what precise cause has not been recorded, the poet celebrates in a tone of triumphant exultation in a still extant passage of his works.[4] In the sequel of the same political vicissitudes, Alcæus and his brothers appear, in their turn, as usurpers or disturbers of the liberties of the republic.[5] They were expelled in consequence by their old ally Pittacus, the only staunch and disinterested patriot, it would seem, among these political chiefs, and who was supported by the mass of the better-disposed citizens. In the sequel, as the most effectual stop to this disastrous series of civil broils, the same Pittacus was elected by the unanimous voice of the "people," as Alcæus himself admits[6], to the dignity entitled

[1] Horat. Carm. I. xxxii. 6.; Athen. xiv. p. 627., xv. p. 687.; Anthol. Pal. ix. 184.; Cic. Tusc. Disp. iv. 33.
[2] Frg. ix.
[3] Frg. ii.; Heraclid. Pont. ad loc.
[4] Frg. iv.; Athen. x. p. 430.
[5] Strab. xiii. p. 617.
[6] Frg. v.

among the Æolians Æsymnetes, or constitutional chief with dictatorial powers for the preservation of the laws and liberties of the state.[1] This measure is described by classical authorities as chiefly directed against the machinations of Alcæus[2] and the other exiled malcontents.

The poet's muse, following the bent of his passions, was speedily directed against Pittacus, with an animosity as fervid as the zeal with which the cause of that patriot had formerly been lauded and supported. He now denounces his fellow-countrymen in the mass as a servile mob, and their leader as the author and instrument of the same tyranny which he affected to abhor in others; as a traitor, in comparison with whom even the base Melanchrus[3] deserved well of the republic; and as a wretch every way contemptible, from an accumulation of defects, bodily and mental. These imputed failings are described in terms of vituperation expressly invented for the purpose, such as Archilochus himself might not have been ashamed to employ in one of his most withering Iambic sallies. The best epithets which Alcæus has now to bestow on a fellow-citizen so celebrated in every age and in every impartial quarter, as one of the ablest and most virtuous of Greek patriots and philosophers, are those of "base born, bloated, paunchbelly;" "splay-footed sloven," "swaggerer," and "night-reveller."[4] This is the worst feature in the character or history

[1] *Strab. loc. cit.*; *Aristot. Polit.* III. ix. (x.); *Dionys. Hal. Ant. Rom.* v. 73.; Diog. Laert. I. iv.

[2] Aristot. et Dion. Hal. locc. citt.

[3] Frg. VII.; conf. Welck. Alc. p. 130.

[4] *κακοπάτριδα*; *φύσκωνα*, *γάστρωνα*, *σαράποδα*, *σάραπον*; *ἀγάσυρτον*; *χειροπάδην*; *γαυρίκα*; *ζυφοδορπίδαν*. Aristot. Pol. III. ix. p. 101. Tauchn.; Diog. Laert. I. iv. 81.; conf. frg. v. VI.

of Alcæus; the moderation of Pittacus and the purity of his motives being admitted and eulogised by every impartial authority. The fact, indeed, of his having voluntarily resigned his dictatorship on the expiry of the ten years for which it had been delegated[1], is sufficient evidence that he was influenced by motives of patriotism rather than of personal ambition to its acceptance.

But the hostility of Alcæus was not confined to words. In an armed attempt to reestablish their influence, his party was defeated and himself made prisoner; when his generous adversary, mindful rather of the honour due to his genius as a poet than of the punishment merited by his offence as a citizen, restored him to liberty.[2] His ultimate fate is unknown. By some authorities he is supposed to have been permanently reconciled to Pittacus, and to have passed the remainder of his life in tranquillity at Mitylene, under the mild sway of that patriotic ruler; by others, to have ended his days a discontented wanderer in foreign lands. In the course of his peregrinations, and of the maritime disasters with which Horace[3] describes them as having been attended, he visited Egypt[4]; and, about the same time, his brother Antimenidas, his steady companion, it would seem, in good or bad fortune, entered into the service of the Babylonian emperor, where he distinguished himself by his valour. Alcæus alludes, in a still extant passage[5], to the victory achieved by this brother over a notable chieftain of the enemy in a battle, probably

[1] Strab. xiii. p. 617.; Diog. Laert. i. iv. 75.

[2] Diog. Laert. i. iv. 76.; Valer. Max. iv. i., Ext. 6.; Diodori Excerpt. i. vii.

[3] Carm. ii. xiii. [4] Strab. i. p. 37. [5] Conf. Strab. xiii. p. 617.

that fought at Carchemish, between Nebuchadnezzar and Pharaoh Necho. The rival champion appears to have been a sort of Assyrian Goliath, though somewhat inferior in stature to the Philistine giant, being described by the poet as "but a span short of five "cubits in height."[1]

His character, political and personal.

2. The above review of the public life and conduct of Alcæus, compiled from the most impartial authorities, and confirmed by his own remains, places his character, both as a man and a citizen, in a light which is far from justifying the encomia bestowed by various critics, antient and modern, on his fervent patriotism and love of liberty. From the same more authentic sources it appears that the ardour of his temperament was as broadly manifested in the pleasures as in the business of life. He describes himself as resorting for consolation in disappointment to the same sensual enjoyments with which he so exultingly celebrates the prosperous turns of his destiny. "Wine," he pronounces, "the most efficacious "medicine for all diseases, the sweetener of the joys "of life, the remedy for all its evils, the drowner of "its cares[2]; the mirror of human character[3]; the best "resource against the heat of summer[4], or the cold of "winter[5]; the best welcome to reviving spring."[6] Nor was the proverbial combination of zeal for the worship of Bacchus, with an equal devotion to the rites of

[1] παλαστὰν ἀπολείποντα μόνον μίαν πάχεων ἀπὸ πίμπων, according to K. O. Müller's ingenious restoration of the corrupted text. Schneidewin, frg. 26.; conf. Matth. frg. VIII.

[2] Frg. XXXI. [3] Frg. XXXVI. XXXVII. [4] Frg. XXVIII. A.

[5] Frg. XXVII.

[6] Frg. XXVIII. B. κατὰ πᾶσαν ὥραν καὶ περίστασιν πίνων. Athen. X. p. 430., who has carefully collected and ingeniously commented the numerous passages illustrative of this point in the poet's character; conf. frgg. XVII. sqq.

Venus, belied in his case. He describes Love as the most terrible of gods[1]; his own submission to whose authority seems also to have been largely displayed in the forms most repulsive to modern taste or morality. Special mention occurs of his passion for a youth named Lycus[2], whom he appears to have celebrated in a very offensive strain of encomium[3]; and, even in his flight, his exile, and greatest political emergencies, he is said never to have separated himself from this favourite object of sensual attachment.[4] Yet, although the licentiousness of his amorous muse has been generally stigmatised by judicious critics, none of the specimens preserved are open to very grave censure on this account; and those allusive to the tender relations between him and Sappho, whose charms were among his favourite subjects of celebration[5], are as remarkable for delicacy as for elegance of expression. In one of the remaining texts[6], he accosts her as the "dark-haired, spotless, sweetly smiling Sappho." In another[7], he makes advances of a less Platonic tendency, which, in her reply, also still extant, whether from modesty, prudery, or personal disinclination, she mildly repels. Judging, indeed, as well from the recorded verdict of the antients as from the remains of his works, the poetry of Alcæus was less open to criticism than his personal character. He appears to have been considered, and with justice, among the most brilliant or even faultless authors of his class, and his works obtained a place

[1] Frg. XXIV. [2] Frg. 48. Schneidew.

[3] Cic. de Nat. D. I. xxviii. "Nævus in articulo pueri delectat Alcæum."

[4] Horat. Carm. I. xxxii. 7. sqq.

[5] Hermesianax ap. Athen. XIII. p. 598. [6] Frg. XLII.

[7] Frg. XLI.; Aristot. Rhet. I. ix.

among the standard representatives of that mixture of native simplicity and dignity of expression so much admired by the great critics of antiquity.[1] His muse, although, as regards its mechanical element, strictly confined within the limits of the Æolo-melic school, offers a considerable resemblance to that of Archilochus, in the freedom with which it ranges over an extensive variety of subjects, from the heroic ode or the scurrilous pasquinade to the tender love sonnet or the joyous drinking-song. Any closer parallel, however, between the characters of the two poets must be restricted solely to their common defects of malignity, scurrility, and profligacy. Alcæus can advance little or no pretension to the higher ethic attributes of the Parian satirist, to his profound though gloomy spirit of philosophy, or his elevated though morbid tone of religious enthusiasm. Both were the slaves of impulse; but the impulse of Archilochus, although often degrading him below himself, to disgraceful excesses of malignity, transported him at times as far beyond himself, to the opposite extreme of the noble and sublime. Even in the higher efforts of Alcæus, self in its undisguised nakedness seems always predominant, animating those of his compositions devoted to objects of public importance equally with those elicited by his own petty interests and enjoyments. His political effusions appear neither to have contemplated nor produced any benefit, social or civil, to his native community. That their tendency was rather in an opposite direction, may be assumed, as

[1] Dion. Hal. de Struct. Orat. xxiv.; conf. Judic. de vett. Script. p. 421. ed. Reisk. In the latter text this commentator speaks in terms of boundless eulogy of his style, as combining dignity, conciseness, suavity, power, perspicuity, and elegance.

well from the above details of his political career, as from the distinctive titles of Dichostasiastica and Stasiotica, "factious or seditious poems," bestowed by the antients on this chapter of his collective works. His love of strife and power was also accompanied by love of money, if several fragments of his compositions may be trusted, where wealth is described, in terms apparently representing the author's own doctrine, as an indispensable ingredient of merit in human character; poverty as equally incompatible with its dignity or respectability.[1]

His works. Stasiotica.

3. Besides the Stasiotica already mentioned, under which head his more popular compositions of the martial or satirical orders appear to have been included, the collective works of Alcæus comprised hymns, love sonnets (Erotica), and Symposiaca, or convivial songs. The collection was divided by the later grammarians into books[2], on what precise principle does not appear; nor has the precise number of such divisions been specified; but ten books are incidentally cited. The most esteemed part of the collection were the Stasiotica, as well, it may be presumed, from the greater importance of their subject, as from their affording a more effective medium for those vivid displays of individual passion and feeling which form the zest of all genuine lyric poetry. Quintilian[3], accordingly, speaks of them in high terms of commendation, passing over the remainder of the collection with comparative indifference; and stigmatises the author for having bestowed so great a portion of his time and talents, destined by nature for nobler themes, on love ditties and other inferior subjects. To

[1] Frg. L. LXV. [2] Welck. Alcæus, p. 134. sq. [3] x. i. 63.

the political class, accordingly, belong the greater portion of the fragments transmitted to our own age in the citations of the classics. The longest and most spirited are, his description of the brilliant appearance of his palace halls, resplendent with arms and military equipages[1], on the eve, it would seem, of some great outbreak of hostile factions; and the remnant of the ode, in which he describes the distracted state of the republic under the figure of a ship tossed in a stormy sea.[2] The former passage is subjoined as a specimen of his style.

μαρμαίρει δὲ μέγας δόμος χαλκῷ, πᾶσα δ' Ἀρῃ κεκόσμηται στέγα·
λαμπραῖσιν κυνίαισι, καττᾶν λευκοὶ καθύπερθεν ἵπποι λόφοι
νεύουσιν, κεφαλαῖσιν ἀνδρῶν ἀγάλματα· χάλκιαι δὲ πασσάλοις
κρύπτοισιν περικείμεναι λαμπραὶ κνάμιδες, ἄρκος ἰσχυρῶ βέλευς·
θώρακές τε νέω λίνω, κώϊλαί τε κατ' ἄσπιδες βεβλημέναι.
πὰρ δὲ Χαλκιδικαὶ σπάθαι, πὰρ δὲ ζώματα πολλὰ καὶ κυπάττιδες.
τῶν οὐκ ἔστι λαθέσθ' ἐπειδὴ πρώτιστ' ὑπὸ ἔργον ἔσταμεν τόδε.

From floor to roof the spacious palace halls
Glitter with war's array;
With burnished metal clad, the lofty walls
Beam like the bright noon-day.
There white-plumed helmets hang from many a nail,
Above, in threatening row;
Steel-garnished tunics, and broad coats of mail,
Spread o'er the space below.

[1] Frg. 1. Athenæus, XIV. p. 627. [2] Frgg. II. III.

Chalcidian blades enow, and belts are here,
Greaves and emblazoned shields;
Well tried protectors from the hostile spear,
On other battle fields.
With these good helps our work of war's begun,
With these our victory must be won.

Of the fire and spirit of his martial poetry this passage, with others in the collection, can leave no room for doubt, whatever may have been the case with the author's own military conduct. Some of the laconic apophthegms in which he inculcates military duty are also singularly terse and pointed. In one passage[1], paraphrased by Æschylus, he tells us that "the device of a warrior's shield inflicts no "wound;" and in another[2], also imitated by Æschylus, and cited or celebrated by various distinguished classics from Plato downwards, he pronounces "the "best rampart of a city to be the valour of its men."

Erotica.

That his amatory compositions, however morally defective, possessed great poetical excellence, may be inferred, as well from their remains, as from the extent to which they were admired and imitated by poets of high credit, but less fastidious judgement than Quintilian. His convivial songs were equally esteemed; and most deservedly so, as is evinced by many fine passages in the extant collection, distinguished by a tone of licentious indeed, but manly and martial joviality, strongly contrasted with the strains in which Anacreon and Mimnermus celebrate their luxurious and effeminate debaucheries. Several of these convivial passages are also among those where the fervid impetuosity of the author's political feelings and passions breaks forth in the most brilliant and

Convivial songs.

[1] Frg. XIII.; Matt. ad loc.

[2] Frgg. XI. XII., conf. Matth. ad loc.; Thucyd. VII. LXXVII. in fine.

striking manner. His poems of this class also comprised a number of those lively epigrammatic sallies called Scolia, or convivial catches.[1]

Hymns.

The hymns, or religious compositions, of Alcæus[2], far from aspiring to the higher dignity of sacred poetry, were conceived, if we may judge from their remains, much in the same spirit of elegant levity or license as his popular odes. In his mythological lore he shows but little respect for the old orthodox Hellenic standards, freely availing himself of his privilege of lyric poet to strike out for himself novel varieties of fable, marked by a subtle but elegant ingenuity of allegorical conceit. One of his hymns to Apollo, the substance of which has been transmitted by Himerius in a prose epitome, was conceived in a spirit as alien to the fable of Homer, as congenial with that of the Phœbus-smitten Aristeas and his Arimaspea. The deity was described as "presented

[1] Aristoph. ap. Athen. xv. p. 693. sq.; conf. Matth. ad frg. xxvi.; Aristoph. Vesp. 1227, Schol. ad loc.; conf. frg. xiv. In the opening line of one of his convivial odes,

πίνωμεν· τί τὰ λύχν' ἀμμένομεν ; ἴάκτυλος ἀμέρα,

the words ἴάκτυλος ἀμέρα have baffled the ingenuity of commentators both antient and modern. Not one of them has suggested any rational interpretation of the phrase. The subjoined, which has been communicated to the author by his accomplished friend Mr. W. R. Hamilton, is certainly the most ingenious that has yet been proposed, and supplies in all probability the true meaning of the poet. The whole verse may be translated as follows:

"Let us drink on! why wait for flambeaux? the finger will serve for daylight."

The allusion is to the custom of persons carousing in the dark ascertaining the quantity of wine poured out to them by placing a finger on the brim of the cup. In the present case the poet represents the party, of which he was a member, as overtaken in their revels by darkness. Some one proposes that they should suspend or relax their festivity until lights were brought. Against this proposal Alcæus remonstrates in the terms above quoted.

[2] Matth. p. 23. sqq.

"at his birth with a lyre by his father Jupiter, as "crowned with a golden diadem, and sent in a chariot "drawn by a pair of swans to Delphi, to be installed "as interpreter of the divine will to mankind. The "youthful god, however, turns his winged steeds "first towards the land of the Hyperboreans, where "he sojourns a year. His Delphic worshippers, dis- "tressed by this delay, institute choral solemnities "around the tripod to propitiate his advent, which "at length takes place at midsummer, amid the "song of nightingales and the jubilee of all sur- "rounding nature."[1] In a hymn to Cupid[2], that deity, in the same spirit of elegant but fantastic metaphor, is transformed from the first-born of Chaos into a son of Iris and Zephyr. In his hymn to Mercury, on the other hand[3], Alcæus adheres to the old Homeric fable of the god's nativity, the lively humour of which supplied a theme more congenial to his taste.

Metres invented or cultivated by Alcæus.

4. In the form of his composition, Alcæus seems to have been contented with his own proper Æolomelic orders of lyric arrangement. Of the more lofty and elaborate choral ode, cultivated about this period in the Dorian schools, no trace is perceptible, either in his remains or in the notices of the antients. There is, however, no poet of the purely melic order who possesses in a higher degree than Alcæus the art of imparting emphatic power to the native suavity and simplicity of the Æolian metrical elements. This is especially the case with the measure named, whether from his invention or favourite use of it, Alcaïc, in which the otherwise languid flow of the logaœdic catalexis is finely sustained by the blending

[1] Himer. Or. XIV. x.; frg. XVII. sqq. [2] Frg. XXIV.
[3] Paus. VII. XX. 2.

of iambic[1] and dactylic elements in the previous lines. A still greater force and vivacity appear in some of his choriambic systems, especially in the one employed in the description of his armoury. These measures, accordingly, are, as a general rule, preferred by him in compositions of a more serious character. In some of his lighter pieces, such as his hymn to Mercury[2], he avails himself of the Sapphic strophe, so called from the partiality shown for it by his distinguished countrywoman. Some grammarians[3], however, ascribe to Alcæus the credit of its "invention," a merit to which, in so far as any such notice can be taken by the letter, his partial priority of age might seem to entitle him. In this, the softest and most melodious of Greek lyric measures, the gentler trochee is substituted, both at the commencement and the close of the verse, for the more manly iambic forms of the Alcaïc. In those compositions where a continuous series of the same verses is preferred to his customary forms of strophic arrangement, Alcæus chiefly avails himself of dactylic[4] and choriambic[5] metres, often in prolonged and rapid succession where the subject is of a livelier and more festive or excited character. In strains of a terser more energetic tone, he tempers this volubility, as in his strophes, by a greater admixture of iambic feet.[6] In more tender or plaintive subjects he also uses the Ionic in similarly prolonged succession, and with

[1] Conf. Hor. Epist. I. xix. 28. "Temperat Archilochi musam pede."

[2] Frgg. XXII. XXXIII.

[3] Marius Victor, IV. p. 2610.; conf. Hephæst. Gaisf. p. 79.

[4] Frg. XIV.

[5] Frgg. V. XXVIII. A, XXX. sqq., LIII.; conf. XL., where a trochaïc succession is preferred for the Comus.

[6] Frg. I.

very powerful effect.[1] Of the elegy or iambic trimeter there is no example in his remains. Traces, however, occur of the Archilochian epode in passages of a satirical or misanthropic tendency.

The high rank enjoyed by Alcæus in the national estimation is evinced by the selection of his works as materials for the editorial labours and special commentaries of the great Alexandrian masters, Aristophanes and Aristarchus[2]; an honour restricted by them to but a few standard monuments of native genius. His poems were also a favourite subject of commentary with numerous other little less distinguished grammarians. Another strong proof of the estimation in which he was held is the extent to which he has been imitated and paraphrased by other celebrated lyric poets, especially by the one who combined in the highest degree the qualifications of poet with those of critic. How largely Horace was indebted to Alcæus is notorious, as well from his own admission, as from the number of passages of his works which can be identified as translations or paraphrases from his Lesbian predecessor. Among the more prominent instances may be quoted the Latin poet's Ode on Winter[3], and that where the Roman state, during the agitated times in which he lived, is compared to a vessel in a stormy sea.[4] Similar, or still closer, appears to have been the relation between the respective hymns to Mercury of the two poets.[5] The ode where the fiery republican of Lesbos ex-

[1] Frg. LXIX.

[2] Hephæst. ed. Gaisf. p. 134.; Villois. Proleg. ad Hom. p. LIX.; conf. Matth. Præf. ad Fragm. p. 5.

[3] Carm. I. ix.; Epod. xiii.; conf. frg. XXVII.

[4] Carm. I. xiv.; conf. frg. II. III. and Theogn. 671.

[5] Carm. I. x.; conf. Matth. ad frg. XXI.

ults in his revels over the downfall of the rival political chief, Myrsilus, has also been paraphrased by Horace in a more amiable, but less animated, strain. There seem, in fact, to have been few standard compositions of Alcæus but have supplied subject of imitation to his brilliant disciple of Rome. Hence Horace has been occasionally styled the Latin Alcæus, with much propriety in respect to all but the less amiable characteristics of his Grecian prototype. The veneration of Horace for his Lesbian master is equally marked in his preference of the favourite metres of Alcæus, especially of the Alcaïc and Sapphic strophes. Even the more celebrated countrymen of Alcæus, Æschylus, for example, and Aristophanes, did not disdain to borrow from him.[2] Of piracy from his own predecessors, the only distinct example is a passage of some length paraphrased from Hesiod.[3]

SAPPHO. 600 B.C.

Sappho.

5. The earliest Greek authoress, omitting the fabulous Sibyls and Phemonoës, of whom any mention occurs is Megalostrata, the beloved of the poet Alcman, whom Athenæus describes as herself a poetess[4]; but of her works or history no further notice is preserved. The next is Sappho[5], admitted by her

[1] Carm. I. xxxvii., frg. iv.; conf. Carm. I. xviii., frg. xxx.

[2] Frg. xii., Æsch. Pers. 349.; frg. xiii., Æsch. Sept. in Th. 388.; frg. xxxvi., conf. Matth. ad loc.; frg. xiv., Aristoph. Vesp. 1234. Tauchn.; frg. liii., Aristoph. Av. 1409.

[3] Frg. xxvii.; conf. Hes. Op. et D. 580. sqq. [4] xiii. p. 600.

[5] Sapphonis Fragm. ed. D. C. F. Neue; Gaisf. Poett. minn. Gr. ed. Lips. vol. iii. p. 291.; Schneidewin, Delect. Poes. Gr. § iii. p. 289.; Bergk, Poett. lyrr. Gr. p. 598.; conf. Welcker, Sappho, Kl. Schrift. vol. I. p. 110. The remains are here cited according to the number and

countrymen of every age to be the only female entitled to rank on the same level with the more illustrious poets of the male sex; and who may even be said to bear away the prize from them all in the peculiar branch of composition which her genius led her to cultivate. Hence, as the author of the Iliad and Odyssey was called by preeminence "the poet," Sappho was honoured by the distinctive title of "the poetess;" and Aristotle[1] classes her in the same high grade of relative excellence as Homer and Archilochus. Of Solon it is related, that, on hearing for the first time the recital of one of her most esteemed compositions, he prayed that "he might not see death until he had committed it to memory."[2] So highly did Plato value her intellectual as well as her imaginative endowments, that he assigned her the honours of sage as well as poet, and familiarly entitled her the tenth Muse.[3] Strabo[4] describes her genius in a tone of mysterious awe, as a divine rather than a human attribute. By other authorities she is characterised in more figurative vein as the joint fosterchild of Venus, Cupid, and the Graces[5], and as combining in her single person the two natures of Muse and Venus[6]; while, in one of the numerous epigrams[7] in her praise, the Muses themselves, nothing jealous, unite with Jupiter and Destiny in confirming or approving the honours bestowed on her by her fellow-mortals. Amid all this, and much more that might be quoted of enthusiastic eulogy, not a word of censure

arrangement of Neue, unless where another collection is specified in the reference.

[1] Rhet. II. 23. [2] Ælian. ap. Stob. XXIX. 58

[3] Phædr. p. 235.; Anthol. Pal. IX. 506., conf. 66. 571.

[4] XIII. p. 617. [5] Antip. Sid. in Anthol. Pal. VII. 14.

[6] Demochar. in Anth. Plan. IV. 310. [7] Anth. Pal. IX. 521.

is to be found on any actual defect, either of her poetical style generally, or of any individual passage of her poems. The scantiness of the existing remains of those poems renders it the less easy to judge how far their internal evidence may have justified this boundless admiration. If, however, the brilliancy and beauty of the passages which have been preserved may be taken as a criterion of the general character of the collection, Sappho, as the poet of Love and the Graces, may still be pronounced unrivalled by any successor, male or female, among the numbers who, in different ages and countries, have competed with her for the palm.

To this celebrity of her genius may partly be ascribed the obscurity which involves her history. In addition to the popular tendency, in such cases, to engraft fabulous details on a comparatively slender stock of matter of fact, the controversies which arose relative to the merits or defects of her personal character, and the efforts made by the different sections of the critical public who took part in those controversies to force the data at their disposal into harmony with their own peculiar views, interpose another serious obstacle to the success of impartial investigation. There can be no better evidence of her surpassing fame and popularity, than the fact of her having figured as a favourite heroine of the comic drama of Athens, to a greater extent, it would appear, than any other historical personage upon record. Mention occurs of not less than six comedies[1] under the title of Sappho; and her history, real or imaginary,

[1] By as many authors: Amipsias, Antiphanes, Amphis, Ephippus, Timocles, and Diphilus. Meinek. Fragm. Comm. Græc. vol. II. p. 707., III. p. 112. 315. 338. 610., IV. p. 409.

furnished materials to nearly as many more[1], with which her name is not so specifically connected. While this, at the best ambiguous, preeminence supplies ample ground of belief, even apart from other authority, or the internal evidence of her remains, that the events of her life or her social habits offered a fair opening for satirical animadversion, there can be no doubt that, in the hands of such censors, her defects would be broadly caricatured. Nor could the judgement of so popular a tribunal fail to exercise influence upon that of posterity. This latter consideration, however, has led her more enthusiastic modern admirers and apologists into the opposite extreme, of ascribing all the less favourable features of her portrait to the above polluted source, in their efforts to convert her into an ideal model of purity and moral excellence. It will be the object of the following review of her life and character to steer a just medium between these two extremes, by an impartial analysis of the existing materials for guiding the judgement, whether supplied by herself or derived from other sources.

Her birthplace, age, family, and social relations.

6. The age of Sappho is established, with more or less accuracy, by its partial coincidence with the still better defined epoch of Alcæus and Pittacus; and, besides other incidental synchronisms, by a general concurrence of authorities.[2] According to these data, the more brilliant portion of her career may be placed in the first half of the sixth century B.C.,

[1] Two under the title of Phaon; one by Plato, the other by Antiphanes, Meinek. op. cit. vol. II. p. 672., III. p. 124; one under the title of Leucadia, by Menander, Meinek. vol. IV. p. 158.; and another entitled Leucadius, by Antiphanes, Meinek. vol. III. p. 78.

[2] Athen. XIII. p. 599.; Strab. XIII. p. 617.; conf. Neue, p. 3.; Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. I. p. 225.

while her childhood and early youth belong to the close of the seventh. Her birthplace, according to the more trustworthy authorities, was Mitylene, the metropolis of the isle of Lesbos. Others make her a native of the neighbouring town of Eresus.[1] It is certain that her family was of Mitylene, and of some rank in that state; one of her brothers, called Larichus[2], having held the post of cupbearer in the Prytaneum, an office only conferred on youths of the aristocratic order. Her father's name was Scamandronymus[3], her mother's Cleïs.[4] If Ovid may be trusted, she was left an orphan when six years old.[5] The names of three of her brothers are also recorded: Charaxus, Larichus above mentioned, and Eurygyius.[6] Of the youngest of the three nothing is known. Charaxus, as Herodotus and others relate, was a trader in Lesbian wines, and obtained notoriety by his amour with the celebrated Thracian courtesan, Rhodopis, then a slave in the Greek colony of Naucratis, in Lower Egypt, to which port he was in the habit of resorting. Such was the violence of his passion for this woman, as to induce him to purchase her from her master, set her free, and lavish his substance in her maintenance, or even, in some accounts, to espouse her. His sister was greatly scandalised and incensed at his conduct, and gave vent to her indignation in an ode composed for the occasion. This affair[7], by reference to chronological

[1] Suid. et Eudocia, v. Σαπφώ; Discorid. in Anth. Pal. VII. 407.

[2] Athen. X. p. 424.; Schol. Bekk. Il. XX. 234.; Eustath. ad loc. p. 1205.

[3] Herodot. II. CXXXV.; Ælian. V. H. XII. XIX. For the multitude of other fanciful titles, or varieties of the same title, see Neue, p. 1.

[4] Suid. v. Σαπφώ; Epigr. ap. Schol. Pind. Boeckh, p. 8.

[5] Ovid. Heroïd. XV. 61. [6] Suid. loc. cit.

[7] Herodot. II. CXXXIV, CXXXV.; Strab. XVII. p. 808.; Athen. XIII. p. 596.; Ovid. Heroïd. XV. 63. sqq., 117.; Suid. vv. Αἴσωπος et Ἰάδμων.

data as well as to the terms of Ovid's allusion to it, would appear to have taken place at a comparatively late period of Sappho's life. Her brother, by consequence, may be presumed to have been greatly her junior. The same Latin poet, who, there can be no reasonable doubt, repeats the accredited version of the story, describes the young man as having been soon after reduced to penury by his folly and extravagance, and as having again betaken himself, as master of a small vessel, to commercial enterprise, or perhaps, on a less charitable construction of the passage [1], to piracy, in order to restore his fortunes. So mortally offended was he, however, by the interference of his sister, as to have broken off all connexion with her, and repelled her subsequent advances for a renewal of friendly intercourse.[2]

Her family affairs seem to have formed frequent subject of treatment in her works. In various passages of her lost poems she complimented her other brother, Larichus, on his graceful performance of the duties attached to his Prytanean office [3]; and, in several remaining texts, she appears to address or allude to her mother, and to a favourite or only daughter.[4]

To the later Athenian dramatists we are indebted, among other burlesque details of her popular biography, for the legends of her loves with Archilochus, Anacreon, and Hipponax. The former of these poets was dead before she was born. The two latter were not born, probably, at the period of her death. All three, however, in the fantastic mythology of the

[1] Op. cit. 65.
[2] Ovid. Her. xv. 67. 117.
[3] Athen. x. p. 425.
[4] Frgg. xxxii. xxviii. lxxvi.

Comic Muse, figure on the Attic stage as her contemporaries and associates.[1]

Whether Sappho was ever married is doubtful, but the balance of evidence is strongly on the negative side of the question. She is familiarly alluded to by Horace and other classics as the "Lesbian maiden;"[2] nor is there any notice of a husband but on a single recent and very questionable authority, where the broadly indecent etymology of the names, both of the individual on whom the honour is conferred, and of his birthplace, sufficiently proves them to be fictitious. Both titles are inventions, there can be little doubt, of the comic authors above alluded to, satirically reflecting on the weaker points of Sappho's character.[3] How far the circumstance of her having had a daughter can be considered as admissible evidence of her having been married, is a point the settlement of which must depend on the closer inquiry into her moral habits to be instituted in the sequel. That such was the fact, however, is stated on respectable authority.[4] The name ascribed to the maiden is Cleïs, the same as that of Sappho's reputed mother. As this identity of the two appellatives is in harmony with the prevailing Greek custom of calling children after their grandfathers or grandmothers, there seems no reason to doubt that the young female addressed by her, as already mentioned, in terms of parental

[1] Athen. xi. p. 487., xiii. p. 599. In the case of Anacreon, the confusion rests partly on an ode addressed by him to a favourite Lesbian maiden, supposed by later superficial critics to be Sappho. Chamæleon ap. Athen. xiii. p. 599.; conf. Hermesian. ap. Athen. xiii. p. 598. sq.

[2] Carm. iv. ix. 12.

[3] Suid. v. Σαπφώ. See infra, p. 301. note.

[4] Max. Tyr. Diss. viii. p. 96. Davis; Suid. v. Σαπφώ; Ovid. Her. xv. 70. 120.

endearment, under the title Cleïs, in several extant passages[1], was her own child.

The habits of Sappho, social or domestic, whether as described by her biographers or illustrated by her own works, were certainly little consistent with those which the laws either of Greek or modern European morality connect with the character or duties of a married woman. It appears, by reference to those combined sources, that the brilliancy of her talents and the charm of her conversation had collected around her residence at Mitylene, from all parts of Greece, a number of females of tastes and pursuits akin to her own, who formed an association or club of ladies devoted to the pursuit of every species of refined and elegant pleasure, sensual or intellectual. The younger members of the sisterhood are also represented as the pupils of their more advanced companions, especially of the poetess, in the arts of music and poetry, and, above all, it would seem, in that of love. This is an institution to which no parallel offers itself in any other period of Grecian history. Its precise character, or that of the relations subsisting among its members, has accordingly supplied the commentators on Sappho's life and character with matter for a copious variety of speculative discussion, to which attention will be directed in the sequel.

Of the extent to which Sappho was herself brought under the sway of the tender passion, which, in one shape or other, formed the theme, with little exception, of her collective works, sufficient evidence exists in her only remaining entire composition, the first ode in the published collections. She there describes herself, in the most touching and impassioned strains,

[1] Frg. LXXVI.; conf. XXVIII.

as the victim of an unrequited love, and implores the aid of Venus to ease her pangs by melting the heart of the obdurate or inconstant object of her affection. At the close of the address, it is also implied that this was not the first occasion on which the goddess, either on account of the same or a different lover, had been similarly and successfully invoked.

Her love for Phaon. Her Leucadian leap.

7. The person to whom this ode is supposed to refer, or who, at least, obtained, in the popular tradition, the chief and longest sway over the affections of Sappho, was a Lesbian youth called Phaon, distinguished for his personal attractions and irresistible power over the female heart. For a time he is described as having corresponded to her ardour; but, after cohabiting with her during some years, he deserted her, leaving her in a state of despair, for which the only remedy that suggested itself was that habitually resorted to in such cases, a leap from the summit of the Leucadian promontory into the sea. That she actually carried this purpose into effect was the popular opinion of antiquity, from the age, at least, of Menander downwards, and seems to have passed current as an authentic fact, even with the more intelligent authorities[1]; although the result, whether as regards her mental or bodily welfare, is not distinctly recorded.

Both these points in the history of the poetess, her love for Phaon and her leap from the Leucadian cliff, have been questioned, with more or less plausibility, by distinguished critics of the present age. In respect to the first, it has been denied, not only that Phaon was the name of the hero of this tragical

[1] Strab. x p. 452.; Menand. ap. Strab. loc. cit.; Ovid. Heroïd. xv.; conf. alios apud Neue, p. 4.

drama, but that such a person ever existed. Certain it is, that there was a mythical personage of this name, whose celebrity was more immediately connected with the isle of Lesbos.[1] This fabulous Phaon is described as a Mitylenean youth, who, by his own amiable qualities, or by certain services which he had been fortunate enough to render to Venus, so ingratiated himself with that goddess, as to have been endowed by her with surpassing beauty, and with irresistible power over the affections and persons of women, in whatever mode he chose to exert it. It has accordingly been urged that "the selection of this hero's name by the Lesbians as the title of the favoured lover of Sappho, herself their native type of female loveliness, would, in the absence of any authentic record of that lover's real appellative, be quite consistent with the spirit of Greek literary legend in such cases." To this view, however, it has been objected, by the advocates of the real personality of Phaon, that the story of his mythical namesake dates from so very recent a period, and is transmitted on such very questionable authority[2], as to leave abundant room for

[1] Ælian. V. H. XII. XVIII.; Plin. H. N. XXII. VIII.; Serv. ad Virg. Æn. III. 279.; conf. Neue, Fragm. Sapph. p. 6.

[2] That apparently of the Attic comedians, by whom the affairs of Sappho, with the lover's leap and its mythology, were jointly burlesqued in dramas of which Phaon was the hero. He seems to have been represented by these authorities as having been involved in much inconvenience by the boon conferred on him by Venus, owing to the impossibility of accommodating the numerous claims on his amorous attentions; and as having undertaken a journey into the wilds of Acarnania, in order to avoid the importunities of the Lesbian ladies. Here he occupied himself in founding the temple of Apollo Leucas. He was, however, pursued into his retreat by crowds of his admirers; and those whose advances he still repelled, Sappho probably among the rest, threw themselves over the cliff into the sea. Conf. Meinek. Fragm. Com. Græc. vol. II. p. 672. sqq., III. p. 124., IV. p. 159.

doubt whether it may not be allowable to reverse the above explanation of the case, and assume the fabulous favourite of Venus to have derived his origin from the historical notices of the faithless lover of Sappho.[1] Here, again, it is objected, and with some reason, on the sceptical side, that "there is no trace, either in the remains of Sappho or in the citations from her text, of her ever having herself mentioned the name 'Phaon' in her poems. Nor, had she so mentioned it, could there have been opening for the doctrine of certain sophistical commentators[2], that the lover of Phaon was not the poetess, but a purely fictitious courtesan of the same name, whom those sophists had themselves called into existence, as a sort of scapegoat on whom they were wont to fasten any points in the popular history of the real Sappho which did not square with their ideal estimate of her character." The whole question, however, is, in truth, in its vital bearings on the history of the poetess, very much a dispute of words. It is certain, from Sappho's own testimony, that she was the victim of an unrequited passion. It matters little, therefore, to the real substance of this point of her biography or character, whether the name by which the object of that passion was known to posterity was a real or a fictitious one.

The Leucadian leap of Sappho, though ranked by various modern commentators, like the name of her lover, among the mythical elements of her biography, will not, perhaps, be found, on a critical estimate of

[1] Neue, p. 6.; Welcker, Klein. Schr. vol. II. p. 135. sqq., who very properly rejects O. Müller's theory of a connexion between Phaon and Adonis.

[2] Nymphis ap. Athen. XIII. p. 596.; Ælian. V. H. XII. xix.; Suid. v. Φάων; conf. Neue, p. 3. sqq.

the circumstances connected with it, to offer any so serious ground of scepticism. It will be proper, in order the better to judge in this obscure matter, to take a general view of the origin and history of the "Lover's Leap," real or fabulous, as illustrated by the more accredited authorities on the subject.

Origin of the Leucadian rite.

8. The Leucadian cliff, or Cape Leucas, which derived its name from its own brilliant whiteness, and imparted that name to the neighbouring region, was the site of a temple of Apollo. Human sacrifice, it is certain, formed part of the early barbarous worship of that deity, in his primitive character of Destroyer or Avenger; and the rite was maintained, for the most part, in a figurative or otherwise modified form, in many Greek sanctuaries up to a late period.[1] The celebrated Leucadian leap was, in fact, in its origin, as it appears ever afterwards chiefly to have remained, a sacrifice to Nemesis, rather than to Venus, by the precipitation of a human victim of Apollo from the summit of the cliff into the sea.[2] Of the mode of selecting these victims in remote ages nothing is recorded. At the period, however, from which the first notices of the rite have been transmitted, there can be no doubt of its having been already stripped, in whole or in part, of its more inhuman features. The victims, where compulsory, were criminals whose lives were already forfeited to the law; while, in the case of voluntary devotees, whether instigated by enthusiasm, love of gain, or other motives, precautions were taken to prevent the more fatal consequences of the exploit. Buoyant substances, feathers, bladders,

[1] Müll. Dor. II. viii. 2., vol. I. p. 326.; Smith, Dict. of Antiq. v. Thargelia.

[2] Müll. Dor. II. ii. 10., vol. I. p. 231. sq.; Hardion sur le Sault de Leucade, in Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. vol. VII. p. 245.

and the like, were fastened to their bodies, in order to break the rapidity of the fall, and boats were stationed below to rescue them from the waves.[1]

Of the circumstances which led to the connexion of this custom with the worship of Venus, there is no distinct account; but the existence of such a connexion is as well attested as that of the ceremony in its primitive form. The antients, as usual in such cases, trace the rite in both its forms to a fabulous origin; and Jupiter, Venus herself, Deucalion, and various other mythological personages of inferior note, are reported to have sanctioned it by their practice.[2] The earliest author in whose works allusion occurs to "the Lover's Leap" is Stesichorus, one of whose odes, as we have seen, celebrated a beautiful nymph named Calyce, who had adopted this mode of terminating, with her own existence, the pangs of a hopeless but honourable passion.[3] The next female victim in the list is Sappho. From this period downwards, various and apparently authentic cases are recorded, though not generally, certainly not invariably, with the same fatal result as in the instance of the unfortunate Calyce. With the devotees of Venus, as of Apollo, there were two classes of leap, differing in danger and fatality as in motive or object. In the one case, the exploit was performed in its naked reality by persons to whom life was rendered odious by the pangs of disappointed love, and who were impelled by a fervid and enthusiastic temperament to this popular and brilliant act of suicidal desperation. In the other case, the leap was

[1] Strab. x. p. 452.

[2] Ptolem. Heph. VII.; conf. Ov. Her. 167. sqq.

[3] Conf. Charon Lamps. ap. Plut. de Virt. Mul. p. 252.

undertaken, with the modifications or safeguards above described, as a remedy for the amorous disease. It was supposed in this latter case, and perhaps with reason, that, apart from the sacred influence of the site and its associations, the revulsion of feeling and temperament consequent on the plunge, the terror, and the excitement of the whole ceremony, would be such as to banish the dominant passion from the breast, and give place to the sway of reason or other counteracting influences. Hence those who had derived benefit from the experiment in one instance were sometimes led to repeat it. One Maces of Buthrotum, a town on the neighbouring coast of Epirus, is said to have had recourse to it no less than four times, which obtained him the surname of Leucopetras, or Whitecliff. The person of greatest celebrity, next to Sappho, among those reported to have actually sought and met their death by the performance of the exploit in its naked suicidal form, was Artemisia of Halicarnassus, ally of Xerxes in his invasion of Greece. Among other less celebrated devotees are mentioned Nicostratus, a comic poet; Diodorus, a flute-player; and Charinus, an iambographer; the latter of whom is also said to have perished.[1]

Evidence for and against Sappho's performance of it.

9. Although few, if any, of these cases may be so distinctly attested by contemporary authorities as to place them on the footing of historical facts, yet, in several of them, the internal evidence of the persons, times, or circumstances, is such, as, together with the universal belief of antiquity, to destroy any legitimate ground of scepticism. Fictions of this nature might, in the ordinary course of mythical

[1] Ptolem. Heph. loc. cit.; Plut. de Virt. Mul. loc. cit.

invention, come to be generally received in the case of Sappho or Artemisia, not to mention Deucalion or Calyce; but it is less easy to see how such stories should, without some basis of reality, have acquired currency or credit in regard to a Nicostratus, a Charinus, or a Maces, obscure individuals of comparatively low periods of Greek or Roman history. There might be more plausibility in the rejection even of these cases, did they involve anything repugnant to the spirit of antient manners or religion; but the ascertained fact of a similar practice having prevailed in honour of Apollo obviates any scruple upon this head. Without special reference, therefore, to individual cases, it were a somewhat rash, and, it is apprehended, very uncritical, stretch of scepticism, summarily to banish to the realms of fiction, as some modern inquirers have proposed, a practice so intimately associated both with the historical convictions and the poetical sympathies of the Greek nation from the earliest to the latest age of classical antiquity.

Admitting, then, the existence of the practice, and that there is, as cannot be denied, a greater body of antient testimony in favour of Sappho than of any other votary of the Cliff, the question occurs: Was there anything in the character or habits of this poetess, whether as described by her native biographers, or as illustrated by her own works, which places her beyond the category, above referred to, of persons likely to be impelled by a fervid temperament and the impatience of disappointed love to the fatal freak? The ready answer to this question, in every impartial quarter, must be, that, upon the whole, it were difficult to select from the annals of female character a heroine combining more of the attributes

calculated to verify, in her particular case, the substance, at least, of the popular tradition.

As a counterpoise to this preponderance of testimony on the affirmative side, appeal has been made to the absence of Sappho's name from the list of Ptolemy Hephæstion, the author who has collected the most numerous notices of the other performers of the rite. This circumstance has been, and very naturally no doubt, adduced as evidence that her claims were not recognised by that compiler. Even admitting him to have rejected them, it would yet hardly be reasonable to prefer the authority of Hephæstion to that of Strabo or Ovid, or to the otherwise unanimous voice of native tradition. Perhaps, however, a different inference, even in the case of Hephæstion, may be more reasonable. In every age of Greek antiquity, from the days at least of Menander downwards, the Leap of Sappho was, as it has ever since remained, the most celebrated and notorious in the whole series of such exploits. It is the one, consequently, of which any professed writer on the subject was least likely to be ignorant; the one concerning which more especially a second-rate sophist of later times, who with all due gravity enumerates Jupiter, Venus, and Deucalion among the votaries of the Cliff, was least likely, in the face of such authorities as Menander, Strabo, and Ovid, to feel sceptical. The only apology, therefore, which suggests itself for what must be considered, at the best, as a piece of eccentricity or affectation on the part of Hephæstion, is to suppose that Sappho, the acknowledged type or eponyme, in later ages, of this act of amorous desperation, has been tacitly assumed by him as the centre or pivot around which all the others were arranged

in the way of illustration or corollary. It has also been urged, that the tradition concerning Sappho leaves it uncertain whether she perished or survived. Admitting it to be so, preciseness of circumstantial detail is no very sound criterion of the element of truth in popular tradition. But, although there may be no distinct statement to that effect, the general tenor of the existing notices would imply that the leap from the Leucadian cliff was the last act of Sappho's life. Here another objection has been discovered in her advanced age; for, by reference to the balance of chronological data above given, her birth can hardly be brought down much lower than about 620 B.C.; and as the adventure of her brother Charaxus with the courtesan Rhodopis, which she survived, is placed by Herodotus in the early part of the reign of Amasis, king of Egypt (569–526 B.C.), she could not, on this basis, have been much under fifty years of age at the period of her supposed suicide. Even here, however, the tradition would, at least, be entitled to the merit of consistency. All accounts concur in representing the poetess, at the period of her last fatal love, as no longer youthful, and her age, consequently, as one of the obstacles to the gratification of her passion.[1] In a female of her

[1] Ovid. Heroïd. xv. 85. It may further be remarked, that the age of the Thracian courtesan, on which the chronology of Sappho's leap, as above estimated, is made to depend, is still less well ascertained than the age of Sappho herself. The history of the former heroine is seasoned with a still more copious ingredient of fable than that of Sappho; and several modern commentators have been inclined, upon reasonable grounds, to prefer the tradition of Ælian (Var. Hist. xiii. xxxiii.) to that of Herodotus, and place the settlement of Rhodopis in Egypt during the reign of Psammetichus, the predecessor of Amasis. The real name of this celebrated beauty appears to have been Doricha; Rhodopis, or "Rosy cheek," her popular surname. Athen. xiii. p. 596.; conf. Neue, op. cit. p. 2. sq.

temperament and habits, an additional lustrum or two would make but little difference in the ardour of that passion, or in the shock attending a disappointment. Upon the whole, therefore, without subscribing, amid the general obscurity and singularity of the case, an unqualified acquiescence to the received account of the Leucadian death of the poetess, the impartial critic must, at least, pronounce the balance of evidence to be on the affirmative side.

In the Parian chronicle[1] Sappho is mentioned as having, at a certain period of her life, fled from Lesbos to Sicily. The precise date assigned to this event is lost, owing to the dilapidation of the monument; but its position was between Olymp. XLIV. and XLVII. (604—588 B.C.) The notice is not corroborated by any subsidiary authority; but from the mode in which it is introduced, as one of a series of standard popular epochs, it must allude to some generally known and admitted vicissitude in the life of the poetess. As Ovid, in her last imploring letter to Phaon[2], previous to her self-destruction, makes her address her lover as resident in Sicily, it seems probable that by both the chronicle and the Latin poet Phaon was understood, on proving faithless, to have retired into Sicily, and to have been pursued thither by his disconsolate mistress.

Her personal appearance, moral character, and habits.

10. Sappho is described, by the only authors who have transmitted any distinct notices on the subject[3], as not distinguished for personal beauty; but as short in stature, and of dark, it may be understood swarthy, complexion. The laudatory commonplace

[1] Epoch XXXVI.

[2] Heroïd. XV. 11. 51.

[3] Max. Tyr. Dissert. VIII. p. 90. Dav.; Ovid. Heroïd. XV. 31. sq.

of kalë, or "fair," which Plato and others incidentally connect with her name, no way militates against this account, as implying nothing more, perhaps less, than does the English phrase by which the Greek epithet has above been rendered, and which is as frequently bestowed, in familiar usage, on plain as on handsome women.[1] The terms in which Alcæus addresses her, in a passage already quoted in the life of that poet, and which have been also adduced as evidence of her personal charms, do not, if fairly interpreted, appear more favourable to that view. He describes her simply as "dark-haired" and "sweetly smiling." No notice whatever is taken of her actual beauty, which an admiring lover would hardly have passed over in silence, had it offered matter for warmer eulogy.

In entering upon the most delicate and difficult element of the present inquiry, that which involves the moral and social character of Sappho, it must be subject of regret that any necessity should exist for exchanging the equable course of historical narrative for the more rugged paths of literary controversy; especially in a case where the sympathies of every well-constituted mind would rather dispose it to side with those authorities from whom it will here be necessary to differ. The question is, however, one of too great importance and interest, as bearing on the character not merely of an individual poetess, but of the whole Greek nation, its manners and literature, during this period, to be passed over without an attempt to correct the fallacious point of view in which it has recently been placed by writers of deserved authority.[2]

[1] Conf. Max. Tyr. loc. cit.

[2] Welcker, Sappho von einem herrsch. Vorurth. befreyet, Gött. 1816;

Sappho, in the portrait of her character jointly exhibited in her own works and in the notices of her more candid and intelligent countrymen, appears as a woman of a generous disposition, affectionate heart, and independant spirit, unless when brought under the sway of those tender passions, which lorded over every other influence in her bosom. Of a naturally ardent and excitable temperament, she seems, from her earliest years, to have been habituated to the enjoyments rather than to the duties, much less the restraints, of Greek female life. Her chief or only occupations were the exercise and display of her brilliant poetical talents and elegant accomplishments; and her voluptuous habits are testified by almost every extant fragment of her poems. Her susceptibility to the passion of love formed, above all, the dominant feature of her life, her character, and her muse. Her indulgence, however, of this, as of every other appetite, sensual or intellectual, while setting at nought all moral restraints, was marked by her own peculiar refinement of taste, exclusive of every approach to low excess or profligacy.

In the portrait presented to us by the popular authorities of the present day, all the less favourable features of the above sketch are effaced; while the colouring of the remainder has been heightened to a dazzling extreme of beauty and brilliancy, exhibiting a model of perfection, physical and moral, such as was never probably exemplified in woman, and least of

and in Kleine Schr. vol. II. p. 80. sqq.; K. O. Müller, Hist. of Gr. Lit. ch. xiii. § 6. p. 172. sqq.; Bode, Gesch. der Hell. Dichtk. vol. II. pt. ii. p. 411. sqq.; Neue, Sapphonis Fragm.; Smith, Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biog. vol. III. p. 707.; Ulrici, Gesch. der Hell. Dichtk. vol. II. p. 359. sqq.; Richter, Sappho und Erinna.

all in the prioress of an association of votaries of Venus and the Muses, in one of the most voluptuous states of Greece.

The following is the summary of her various excellences, given by one of the popular organs of this amiable but fallacious theory. "In Sappho a warm and profound sensibility, virgin purity, feminine softness, and delicacy of sentiment and feeling, were combined with the native probity and simplicity of the Æolian character; and, although endued with a fine perception of the beautiful and brilliant, she preferred genuine conscious rectitude to every other source of human enjoyment." [1]

Fallacy of the lately popular estimate of her character.

11. The best, the only sound criterion, the infallible criterion, as it must here be considered, for estimating the moral character and habits of Sappho, and to which a due of share of attention will be devoted in the sequel, has been transmitted by herself, in the still existing collection of her poems. That collection, though comparatively scanty, is yet abundantly sufficient, as illustrated by the parallel details of her traditional history, to verify, in all its substantial features, what has been presented in the previous page as the only genuine portrait of her character. By some of her more chivalrous modern admirers this internal head of evidence has been virtually overlooked; by others it has been so greatly misunderstood, or misapplied for behoof of their own amiable paradox, as to have proved a fertile source of error rather than of truth. As a general rule, however, their argument has been concentrated preferably around certain passages of

[1] Richter, op. cit. p. 22.; conf. Bode, op. cit. p. 422.; Smith, op. cit. p. 707.

distinguished antient writers, by whom the character of the poetess appeared to them to be viewed in a light favourable to their own doctrine. The authority of these passages there will be no necessity here to dispute, inasmuch as they are, it is apprehended, if fairly quoted and rightly understood, among those which tend most effectually to set aside the theory in support of which they have been adduced.

"How," it has been asked, "had the purity of Sappho's life been open to question, could Lucian [1] have cited her in company with a Theano and a Diotima, in illustration of female excellence? How could he, in another passage, have associated her with the same Theano and with Telesilla, as worthy to sustain the lustre of the female character against the aspersions of the other sex? How, had she been such as the popular error represents her, could even Plato [2] have made such honourable mention of her." [3] Here, however, we must not overlook, as some of the more unscrupulous champions of the poetess have done, another female, also comprised by Lucian among his specimens of womanly excellence, Aspasia, namely, the paramour of Pericles; a lady distinguished, like Sappho, both for brilliant talents and accomplishments, and for refined delicacy of tastes, but, like Sappho, also a woman of undoubtedly licentious morals. The admission of this name into Lucian's catalogue were in itself sufficient evidence that the species of female excellence to which he refers had no connexion with immaculate moral purity. What he had in view was

[1] Imag. XVIII., Amor. XXX.

[2] Phædr. p. 235. sq.

[3] Welck. Klein. Schr. vol. II. p. 102. sq.; Neue, Fragm. Sapph. p. 8.

evidently mere general brilliancy of female character; genius, intellectual capacity, and elegant acquirements. In the former of the two passages, accordingly, Aspasia and Diotima are quoted as representatives of female wit or conversational talent[1]; Sappho as the representative of "luxurious refinement of taste and habits." This is precisely the kind of social excellence which, on the authority of her more critical fellow-countrymen, has in these pages been assigned her; but it is one not necessarily, or even usually, connected with scrupulously correct morals. In the second passage, Sappho is adduced by Lucian, less on account of her own virtues, than of her eloquence in advocating those of her sex; and that the virtues in question were not of a very rigid character also appears from the mode in which the same Aspasia is again introduced, in the immediate sequel, as their representative. Plato, in like manner, cites Sappho as an example of intellectual capacity combined with poetical genius, but in no sort of connexion with moral propriety, as is abundantly clear from the companion with whom she is associated as the male type of the same attributes. This is no other than Anacreon.[2] Even the most envenomed detractors from the fair fame of the poetess might safely allow her all the honours of chastity which can justly belong to her in partnership with such a colleague.

[1] Diotima, however, seems also to have been an erotic poetess of the same liberal order as Sappho. Max. Tyr. Diss. VIII. p. 90. 94. Dav.

[2] It can hardly be by mere accident that this name, with that of Aspasia, already noticed, has been so generally suppressed by the modern defenders of Sappho (Neue, Bode, Ulrici,), in their appeals to the above passages of Lucian and Plato. Welcker alone, with that ingenuous candour which always distinguishes his style of criticism, has ventured fairly to grapple with all the difficulties and anomalies of the fallacious theory of which he is the originator and ablest advocate.

This association of the names of Sappho and Anacreon, as the male and female types of the voluptuous and impassioned orders of Greek erotic poetry, is familiar in every period of antiquity[1], and supplies an illustration of the moral character of the poetess which stands in need of no commentary. Here, however, the analogy also holds good; for Anacreon's notorious and self-emblazoned profligacy in the pursuit of pleasure was counterbalanced, we are assured, by other noble and generous qualities, by a high-minded independance of spirit, and a rigid integrity of conduct in the more serious affairs of life, both public and private.[2]

A similar analysis of other classical texts in which Sappho is honourably noticed would be attended with the same results. The brilliancy of her character is invariably dwelt on in terms of unqualified eulogy; but, as to its moral worth, either an unfavourable verdict is given, or a cautious silence preserved. Strabo, for example, speaks of her with reverential awe, as "a wonderful," an almost superhuman being; but, in the sequel of the same text, he modifies this praise by a somewhat pointed restriction of it to her poetical gifts. To this romantic veneration for the splendour of the whole portrait may be ascribed the comparative absence of more definite allusion to its less estimable features by the graver class of authors. The opening which those weaker points afforded was

[1] Plut. Symp. vii. viii.; Maxim. Tyr. Diss. viii. p. 90. ed. Davis; Athen. xiv. p. 639., conf. 697.; Ovid, Remed. Am. 761., Art. Am. iii. 331., Trist. ii. 364. sq.; Pausan. i. xxv. 1.; Aul. Gell. xix. ix. 4.; Dio Chrys. ed. Reisk. p. 81.; Themist. Orat. xiii. p. 170. ed. Paris, 1684; Gregorius ad Hermog. p. 914.; ap. Reisk. Orr. Gr. vol. xiv.

[2] See Appendix E.

freely laid hold of by the satirist, for the purpose of burlesque exaggeration; but the respect entertained for her higher qualities inclined her countrymen of a more generous temper, if not to justify, at least to draw the veil over what derogated from her glory. Her case may be illustrated by others parallel in modern times; by that of Heloïse, for example, or Mary. How seldom, in the popular allusions to these celebrated females, are they mentioned otherwise than as objects of admiration or interest! It is only in the page of the critical historian or the scandalous chronicler that their blemishes are prominently brought forward. There can also be little doubt that various particulars of the popular history of Sappho which her modern apologists are most anxious to set aside as injurious to her credit, her love for Phaon, for example, or her leap from the Cliff, were far from being viewed in the same unfavourable light by her antient admirers. They were considered rather as solid earnest of that ardent enthusiasm and tender sensibility which animate her poems, and, in so far, as interesting elements of the whole grand phenomenon of her character. Strabo, for example, is not deterred by his expressed belief in those two points of her traditional history from mentioning her in the warm terms of admiration above quoted. The context of the passage would, indeed, rather imply that belief to be an ingredient of the profound veneration with which she inspired him.

How far represented by the antients as a courtesan.

12. By some of Sappho's modern biographers, this romantic estimate of her character seems to be founded in a great measure on the assumption, that, by such of her fellow-countrymen as took a less

favourable view of her conduct, she was habitually represented in the light of a professional courtesan[1]; and the very reasonable indignation excited by this supposed calumny has greatly helped to transport her vindicators into an opposite extreme of generous enthusiasm. Whether there be valid historical grounds for the belief that the efforts even of the popular antient satirists to depreciate the fair fame of the poetess were carried to this extreme, and assuredly unjust, degree of severity, is a question to which attention will be paid in the sequel. Upon this, at the best, unsound basis have, however, been raised some of the most popular arguments in favour of her immaculate moral purity. "How," it has been pointedly urged, with reference to the affair of Rhodopis, above detailed, "could she ever have reproached her brother with his love for a courtesan, had she been herself a member of the same profession in her youth? and would not Charaxus have retaliated upon her with most humiliating effect?"[2] Let us, however, restore the case to its real bearings; let us assume that the public opinion of antiquity considered Sappho, not as a professional courtesan, but as a lady of rank who united brilliant talents and elegant taste with licentious freedom of habits; and the inference will also require to be very differently shaped. This is a question more capable of illustration by example than by argument. Were the brother of a modern lady of noble birth and high fashion to select as his paramour a beautiful prostitute of the lowest order; were he to provide her with a

[1] Müller, Hist. of Gr. Lit. p. 172. sqq.
[2] Müller, loc. cit.; conf. Welck. op. cit. p. 114.

handsome establishment, parade her in public, and waste the family estate in ministering to her follies and vices, his sister would hardly be precluded from her right to lampoon him in verse, if disposed and qualified to vent her indignation in that mode, by the consciousness that her own reputation was not immaculate. That such motives were as little likely to interfere in the case of a Lesbian lady of similar character, we are assured on authority whose competency is beyond all dispute. Among classical critics there were few, perhaps, who possessed a deeper insight than Ovid into the spirit and habits of antient society. He is also the one among extant authorities who, while far from degrading Sappho to the rank of a courtesan, exhibits her moral character in the least favourable light. Yet so little is he alive to the inconsistency which so forcibly strikes the critic of the present day, that he makes no difficulty of introducing her, in the same poem, glorying in her own indulgence in an illicit amour, and alluding, in the most natural manner, to all the circumstances of her quarrel with her brother.[1] But, it may further be asked, with reference to her poetical pasquinade against Charaxus, would it ever have occurred to a woman of that refined delicacy of moral sentiment of which Sappho is now held up as a pattern, to come forward herself as the instrument of giving publicity to the scandalous and degrading conduct of her own brother, and to the disgrace, consequently, which that conduct reflected on herself and family?

How far Sappho may, by fanciful or satirical au-

[1] Her. xv. 63. sq.

thors, have been represented as a courtesan, is a question obviously of no real importance in any more critical estimate of her true character. The dispassionate inquirer will readily join with her more unscrupulous apologists in repudiating a view as false in itself as derogatory to her honour. That such a colouring should have been given in occasional instances, by popular satirists, to the darker traits of her portrait seems in itself natural and probable. The fact is, however, that there is no actual trace of her ever having been subjected in any quarter to so calumnious an imputation.[1]

How represented in the comic drama of Athens.

13. It has with more especial confidence, and certainly with some plausibility, been asserted, that Sappho was habitually produced on the Attic stage in this degrading capacity by the later comic poets, with whom she was a favourite heroine. Yet, even here, the proof fails altogether. There can, indeed, be little doubt, by reference as well to the general spirit as to the extant remains of that department of the drama, that she was there exhibited both in a ludicrous and an opprobrious light.[2] But neither frag-

[1] Müller asserts that Sappho was represented as a courtesan by "many" antient writers (Hist. of Gr. Lit. p. 172.); but cites no authority in support of this assertion. Welcker (Kl. Schr. vol. II. p. 123.) quotes a single passage of Seneca, which, however, seems really to imply the reverse of what Müller would infer from it. Seneca (Epist. 88.), in alluding to the four thousand treatises of the grammarian Didymus, on a variety of for the most part trivial or nugatory subjects, quotes, as specimens of the more absurd part of the collection, one on the question, "Whether Anacreon was more distinguished for drunkenness or lewdness?" and another devoted to the inquiry, "Whether Sappho was in the habit of prostituting her person?" The terms of this citation obviously imply, that the treatise on Sappho, like that on Anacreon, was a mere speculative absurdity of the individual Didymus. Seneca would hardly have alluded in such terms to a serious defence of the most illustrious of Greek females, against a widely spread false and scandalous imputation.

[2] Yet it is certainly somewhat remarkable, that (setting aside alto-

ment of, nor citation from, any one of the half-score of comedies for which her history supplied materials (none of which, unfortunately, have survived) has yet been adduced, even remotely implying that she was represented on the Attic stage as a professional courtesan. Nor was it the custom of the Attic comedians to invest the objects of their satire with attributes entirely different from those which belonged to them in real life. The art of those masters, as of all skilful satirists, consisted in exaggerating or caricaturing real failings. The laws of Athenian polite society, so hostile to female independance, and in general to all freedom of intercourse between the sexes, repudiated, even apart from purely moral considerations, the unconstrained habits of the poetess and her sisterhood, as utterly incompatible with feminine decency or propriety. The object, therefore, of the comic moralist, in the case of such a heroine as Sappho, would be to hold up, in a burlesque or odious light, the consequences of any wide violation of the rules of Athenian domestic manners, even in a female of distinguished birth and brilliant talents. Her transformation into a professional woman of pleasure would have marred both the novelty and the spirit of the caricature. A courtesan was, at the best, a common character at

gether the question of her courtesanship), in neither fragment nor citation of the ten comedies above referred to (p. 274. sq.) as having treated in more or less detail of her affairs, does there occur any distinct allusion to the sexual irregularities of her conduct. In the passage quoted by Athenæus (x. p. 450. sq.) from the "Sappho" of Antiphanes, where the heroine is introduced propounding and interpreting epigrammatic riddles, the satire is aimed partly at her own intellectual subtlety, still more perhaps at that of Plato, and other enthusiastic eulogists of her "wisdom." In the "Sappho" of Diphilus she is represented as participating, how far to an intemperate excess does not appear, in the convivialities of her admirers, Archilochus and Hipponax. Athen. xi. p. 487., xiii. p. 599.

Athens, and a hackneyed one on her stage; nor was it one, perhaps, on the whole, so disreputable in Athenian estimation as that of Sappho herself, under the exaggerated colours in which, no doubt, the latter was represented. To have forced these miserably commonplace attributes on a heroine who, in her own natural character, presented so far superior a stock of materials for dramatic treatment, would have been a breach, therefore, of the fundamental rules, both ethic and poetical, of the Attic drama.[1]

The fact, however, of Sappho having been caricatured on the Attic stage, and the groundless assumption that she was there caricatured in the guise of a courtesan, have supplied the modern vindicators of her morality with some of their favourite weapons of defence. Not only her supposed courtesanship, but almost every recorded blemish or peculiarity of her character, as it appears in the older more authentic portrait of it, has been laid to account of this popular source of pollution, often with singularly incongruous effect. Even the plainness of her person, for example, and her Leucadian leap, have been traced to the malice of those comic calumniators. It is difficult to believe that accomplished Attic dramatists would, without some precedent in the real history of

[1] Among the more burlesque details of the popular history of the poetess, there is none which may with greater confidence be laid to the charge of the Attic comedy than that which gave her a husband called Cercolas (Penifer), a citizen of the town of Andros (Virilia). It could hardly, however, have occurred to these authorities to provide a professional courtesan with a husband of any kind, much less with one of whom the followers of her vocation, among all other women, stood least in need. The above etymology of Cercolas is illustrated and confirmed, together with the dramatic origin of the name, by the title of another similar hero of the Attic stage, Misgolas (Concubius), celebrated by Timocles and Alexis ap. Athen. VIII. p. 339.

the individual, have been guilty of so gratuitous and palpable an inconsistency as that of representing the most popular "courtesan" of her age, the beloved of Anacreon and Archilochus, as an ugly woman; denying her, in fact, the ordinary, the universal, almost the only indispensable requisite of her profession. Nor is it much more likely that they would have figured a prostitute, in the midst of her orgies, as so feelingly susceptible of the power of genuine romantic love, as to commit suicide on account of a disappointment. Even admitting the Comic Muse of Athens to have occasionally overstepped what has above been assumed to be her own more immediate province, by inventing rather than caricaturing the faults and failings of her popular heroes, we must do her at least the justice to believe that her fictions would have been in better keeping than those here imputed to her, with the laws both of Grecian art and of human nature. There can hardly, therefore, be a shadow of reasonable doubt, that, if Sappho was ever represented on the Attic stage as a plain woman or as a self-murderess, she was so represented on the authority of her old traditional biographers. It may also be remarked, that the only distinct allusion by a comic poet to Sappho's Leucadian leap, Menander's well known beautiful description of Cape Leucas[1], bears evidence, in its plaintive seriousness both of

οὗ δὴ λέγεται πρώτη Σαπφώ,
τὸν ὑπίρκομπον θηρῶσα Φάων',
οἰστρῶντι πόθῳ ῥῖψαι πέτρας
ἀπὸ τηλεφανοῦς.

Where yonder cliff rears high its crest in air,
White glittering o'er the distant wave,
There Sappho, headlong, in a briny grave
Entomb'd with frantic plunge her love and her despair.

expression and numbers, that the drama of "Leucadia," in which it occurred, treated this part of the poetess's history, not in the purely burlesque style of the old or middle comedy, but in the amatory style[1] of the new comedy, a style which the same Menander enjoys the credit of introducing, or carrying to its greatest perfection.

In so far, therefore, as extant authorities admit of our judging, the actual courtesanship of Sappho was confined, even in the fiction or fancy of the antient public, to the other proprietrix of the name alluded to in a former page.[2] That this second Sappho, the "courtesan," was an altogether imaginary personage is not now disputed in any reasonable quarter. She evidently owes her existence to the anxiety of the later Greek sophists to relieve, by this amiable but not very critical expedient common with them in similar cases, the ideal dignity of the genuine Sappho's character from the alloy of vice or weakness with which, either in the authentic tradition or the Attic drama, it was obscured. This popular subdivision, however, of the poetess's personality seems to have been as little recognised as her individual courtesanship by the more critical authors of later times, Strabo and Ovid, for example, in their allusions to her affairs. Ovid in particular, who expatiates more at length and more severely than any other extant classic on the history of Sappho, and who may be considered as the most authentic organ of that portion of the critical public which took the most unfavourable view of her character, holds it up in substantially the

[1] This further appears from the extant fragments of the Latin paraphrase of the "Leucadia" by Turpilius, which are of the same plaintive tendency Meineke, Fragm. Comm. Græc. vol. IV. p. 159.

[2] p. 282.

same light as that in which it has been exhibited in these pages. He represents her as an enthusiastic and independant votary of love and pleasure for their own sake; and who, far from turning the homage of the other sex to mercenary account, was ready to sacrifice every worldly consideration, even life itself, as the price of reciprocity in her objects of affection.

Apology for her character derived from the freedom of Æolian habits.

14. The foregoing inquiry into the mode in which Sappho's history may have been handled on the Athenian stage involves, in some degree, another question of still greater importance to a just estimate of her real character: How far, namely, that boundless freedom and independance of social habits by which Sappho and her associates are acknowledged, even by their warmest apologists, to have been distinguished, can, apart from more strictly moral considerations, be admitted to have been compatible, in any part of antient Greece, with purity or respectability of Greek female life?

It has here been urged, on the apologetic side, "that it was merely the narrow view entertained by the Athenians of the dignity and rights of the female sex, and their inability to appreciate the distinction drawn by their more liberal Æolian neighbours between rational independance and levity in female conduct, which led, on the extension of the literary and social influence of Athens over Hellas, to a false and injurious estimate of the Æolian poetess's character. A broad line of demarcation must," it is maintained, "be drawn in this particular between the genius of the Athenian and Ionian and that of the Æolian and Dorian races. Among the former, the condition of the women was little better, worse perhaps in some respects, than that of domestic servants. While the Oriental principle of seclusion was enforced to an almost Oriental extent,

the ordinary education of the females was barely what sufficed to qualify them for the management of their children, slaves, and domestic concerns. For the rest, Pericles himself has pronounced that the best woman was she of whom the least was said among men for good or for evil. In the Æolian states, on the other hand," we are told, " the antient simple habits of the heroic age still prevailed. The women are there found taking an active part in social, and even in public, life, enjoying and sharing with the male citizens all the rightful privileges of education, genius, or talent."[1]

There can be no doubt that the above picture of the condition of the Attic females is substantially correct; but the wide distinction drawn between them and their Æolian kinswomen is more than questionable. That the women of Lesbos were not subjected to the same restrictions as those of Athens may, perhaps, be granted: but the assumption, that this indulgence was a mark of primitive purity of manners, rather than of the licentious habits of the Æolian republics, is confuted by the oldest and best writers who allude to the social condition of those states. Heraclides Ponticus and Theopompus[2], in common, it is believed, with all other valid authorities on the subject, describe the Æolian, and especially the Lesbian manners as refined and elegant, it is true, but as notoriously voluptuous and profligate. Nor is it easy, certainly, to recognise any trace of simplicity or purity in the glowing outpourings of uncontrolled passion and refined sensuality by

[1] Müll. Hist. of Gr. Lit. p. 173.; Welck. Kl. Schr. vol. II. p. 95. sq.; Bode, Gesch. der Gr. Dichtk. vol. II. pt. ii. p. 420. 357.; Smith, Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biog. vol. III. 707.

[2] Ap. Athen. XIV. p. 624., X. p. 442. sq.; conf. Plehn. Lesb. p. 123.

which those manners are reflected in the page of either Sappho or Alcæus. But, whatever amount of rational liberty may have been allowed to the fair sex in Mytilene, it is difficult to believe that the code of public morality in that or any other Greek republic could have sanctioned such an association as the one over which Sappho presided; a school not only of poetry and music, but of love and every variety of voluptuous pursuit. Analogy has been sought between this sisterhood and those said to have existed among the Spartan matrons[1]; but, instead of a parallel tending to justify the Lesbian association, the contrast might with better reason be appealed to in an opposite sense. The object in the two cases was widely different. With the Spartan females, that object was to cooperate in upholding in all their rigour the ascetic institutions of Lycurgus; with the Lesbians, it was to cherish and promote the opposite extreme of elegant licentiousness. The profligacy of the Lesbian manners has, in fact, been contrasted by Heraclides with the proverbial purity of those of Sparta, in the passage already cited; and the contrast is curiously illustrated by the tradition which connects the history of the poetess Erinna with that of Sappho. Erinna, a daughter of Dorian parents settled in Mitylene, and a maiden combining, like Sappho, poetical genius with an ardent temperament, is described as having, at the early age of nineteen, pined and died of grief consequent on the interdict placed by her mother on her free participation in the pursuits of the Lesbian queen of love and her joyous companions.

There would be more plausibility in this line of vin-

[1] Müller, Hist. of Gr. Lit. p. 176.

dication, could it be shown that the Mitylenæan sisterhood consisted but of Lesbian or Æolian members. But the fact, also pointedly pressed by Sappho's apologists[1], that it was composed in great part of "foreigners attracted by the charm of her society from all parts of Greece," and in greatest numbers, it seems, from those where habits the most opposite to this supposed Lesbian liberality were most inveterate, plainly vitiates the whole argument. Among the female associates of Sappho whose names are recorded, the few whose birthplace is also specified, Anactoria of Miletus, Gongyla of Colophon, and Eunica of Salamis, were natives of Ionian or Attic communities; of the very districts where unrestrained freedom of female habits was most strongly discountenanced. Young unmarried women, for as such they are represented, who, in violation of the laws of feminine decency in which they had been educated, had left their native country and paternal mansion, in order to join an association which their friends at home, as also so strongly urged by Sappho's apologists, looked upon as a sisterhood of courtesans, could hardly have been persons of very scrupulous modesty; nor can a more favourable judgement, certainly, be formed of the matron who had encouraged such conduct.

Her character as portrayed by herself in her ode to Venus.

15. But the best criteria for estimating the moral character of Sappho are those transmitted by herself. In the true spirit of Greek lyric poetry, the whole, or by far the greater portion, of her works were devoted to objects around which her own personal interests and sympathies were concentrated. That the most en-

[1] Welck. Kl. Schr. vol. II. p. 113, 114.; Bode, Gesch. der Hell. Dichtk. vol. II. pt. ii. p. 423. sq.; Müller, op. cit. p. 177.

grossing of these objects was the passion of love is not only stated by those who had access to her entire collection, but is abundantly proved by her existing remains. He must, indeed, be a singularly lenient judge of human character and conduct, who can figure to himself the leader of such a society spending her whole life in studying, inculcating, and celebrating the joys and the distresses, the longings and the disappointments of sexual intercourse, in the most fervid and impassioned, often licentious strains, without having ever been herself tempted to transgress the limits of pure Platonic attachment. Of conjugal love, though far from excluded from her subjects of poetical commentary, a large portion of her poems being hymenæal odes, there is yet no vestige in any extant passage descriptive of the phases which the passion assumed in her own case. In closer illustration of the spirit of her amorous muse, attention may be directed to the first ode in the existing collection, the longest poem of Sappho which has been preserved, still the most brilliant of its kind in any language, and imitated or paraphrased, as a model of excellence, by erotic poets of every succeeding age. It will, therefore, be familiar to most readers, and few, probably, who have perused it with unprejudiced minds, either in original or translation[1], have discovered, in its glowing energy of voluptuous expression, any symptoms of that maiden modesty which the more ardent admirers of its author pronounce to have been one of her most prominent characteristics. The ode

[1] The best English versions of this and of the other entire ode of Sappho quoted in the sequel, are still, the author believes, those by Ambrose Phillips (Life of Sappho, 1713). They are cited, commented, and praised by Addison, in the Spectator (Nos. 223. 229.), and certainly possess, that especially of the shorter ode, considerable merit.

is conceived in the form of a supplication to Venus to soften the heart of an obdurate lover, and procure the fair complainer relief from her sufferings, in the full gratification of the passion which boils in her frenzied bosom. Her divine patroness is invoked "by the "remembrance of the favour formerly vouchsafed in a "like emergency, when the goddess had appeared to "her suppliant in a chariot drawn by sparrows, and had "comforted her distress by tender inquiries who it was "that caused her sorrow, and by an assurance of the "speedy fulfilment of all her desires; that the object "of her unrequited affection would ere long pursue "her as ardently as he now coldly avoided her; that he "would soon snatch those kisses which he now scorned "to accept." And this, we are told, is the language of an innocent virgin, or a virtuous matron. It is further sufficiently clear, from her own confession, that this love was not the first of the same kind, the pangs and, under Aphrodite's especial auspices, the full indulgence of which she had experienced. Whether the idolised object was in each case the same or different is not distinctly stated; but, according to every natural principle of interpretation, the latter view is the more probable.[1]

[1] Any very close commentary on this ode were scarcely consistent with decency. The preference of sparrows to doves or Cupids, for the office of drawing the chariot of Venus, can be explained, as it has been by the antient commentators, but in one way. These birds were symbolic of but one species of love, that called ὀχευτικός by Athenæus (IX. p. 391.), who quotes Sappho in this passage among his authorities. Conf. Terpsicl. ap. Athen. loc. cit.; Diphil. ap. Athen. XIII. p. 571.; Aristot. Hist. An. V. ii. 4.; Eustath. ad Il. II. 311. Nor can the last two lines of invocation addressed to Venus,

ὅσσα δέ μοι τελέσσαι
θυμὸς ἱμέρρει, τέλεσον· σὺ δ' αὐτὰ
σύμμαχος ἔσσο,

refer to any other than a purely sensual object. No apologist of Sappho

In her other poems.

16. The remains of Sappho's Epithalamia, or nuptial odes, while the portions of the collection in which any broad traits of levity were perhaps least to be expected, are those which offer some of the most striking exemplifications of her peculiar faculty of dressing up meretricious ideas in such elegant forms, or such ingenious disguise, as can leave no room for censure on purely poetical grounds, however irreconcilable with the laws of moral propriety or with female purity of sentiment. One of her antient commentators[1], in alluding to her compositions of this class, remarks that "The office of celebrating the rites of Venus with lyre and song appears, by the common consent of her fellow-poets, to have been made over to Sappho. She penetrates into the arcana of the bridal thalamus. She prepares the nuptial bed and marshals the attendant virgins. She then joins Venus in conducting the bridegroom, escorted by the Loves and Graces, into the presence of the bride; and likens him, in the valour of his deeds, to Achilles." The existing scattered remnants of her text not only supply an apt commentary on this passage, but indicate, in the sequel, a still more detailed "Homeric" description of the exploits of the hero and heroine In one fragment[2], Mars is sub-

has yet ventured fairly to grapple with the terms of this brilliant text. By K. O. Müller, in particular, the defence has been carefully restricted to the style of the composition. "The indelicacy of such an avowal of passionate love," he remarks, "is much diminished by the manner in which it is made;" on the tact and grace of which he profusely enlarges. (Hist. of Gr. Lit. p. 175.) The obvious objection to this line of apology is its superfluity. The elegance of Sappho's mode of expressing even the most meretricious ideas has never been questioned. Müller evades altogether the question, how such expressions are to be reconciled with the virgin purity or matronly modesty for which he gives her credit.

[1] Himerius, Orat. I. iv. [2] Frg. LXXIII.

stituted for Achilles, as the mythical type of the male warrior's prowess:

γαμβρὸς ἐσέρχεται ἶσος Ἄρηϊ.

At the outset of the engagement, the heroine utters the bold exclamation:[1]

ἀεὶ παρθένος ἔσσομαι!

This valorous announcement seems to have been reiterated, though in a somewhat less confident tone, in the sequel:[2]

ἦ ῥ' ἔτι παρθενίας ἐπιβάλλομαι.

Her firmness of purpose was, however, in the end, obliged to give way, as appears from the ensuing dialogue between herself and one of her principal fellow-combatants:[3]

παρθενία, παρθενία, ποῖ με λιποῖσ' ἀποίχῃ!

To which Parthenia replies, that she is "gone! fled! never again to return:"

οὐκέτι ἥξω πρός σε! οὐκέτι ἥξω!

The following verses belonged, doubtless, to the congratulatory pæan, celebrating the ultimate triumph of the hero:[4]

δαύοις ἀπαλᾶς ἑταίρας
ἐν στήθεσσι.

The subsequent reconciliation between him and his

[1] Frg. XLVII. Schneidew.
[2] Frg. LII. Schneidew.; conf. LXXI. Neue.
[3] Frg. XXI. Gaisf. (Neue, LI.); conf. Demetr. de Eloc. CXL.
[4] Frg. LXXXVI.

fair adversary may be inferred from the description of her, as[1]

μάλα δὴ κεκορημένα
στοργᾶς.

And the permanence of this friendly feeling on her part is evinced by her expression of mortification, on an ensuing similar occasion, at the unexpectedly prolonged absence of her former enemy:[2]

μέσαι δὲ νύκτες, παρὰ δ' ἔρχεθ' ὥρα,
ἐγὼ δὲ μόνα καθεύδω.

These illustrations will enable us the better to appreciate the validity of the appeals which have been made[3], on the apologetic side of the question, to the two extant passages allusive to the tender intercourse of Sappho with Alcæus; one from her own pen, the other from that of her admirer.[4] In the first, to the poet's announcement that "he had a proposal to make, but that modesty tied his tongue," she replies, that "were his desires limited to what was just, he "would not be ashamed to express them." Little weight can, in any case, attach to such isolated expressions in the mouths of poets, still less in a case where the ambiguous tenor of the dialogue, and the fragmentary form in which it has been transmitted, preclude all insight into the circumstances which gave rise to it. Taking, however, its terms in the most

[1] Frg. xci.

Frg. lii., τί με Πανδιονὶς ὠρανία χελιδών,
may possibly be her reproachful address at daybreak to the disturbing twitter of the swallow.

[2] Frg. lv.

[3] Welck. Kleine Schr. vol. ii. p. 103. sq.; Müller, Hist. of Gr. Lit. p. 172.

[4] Frg. lxi.

favourable sense, as indicating that Sappho repelled the advances of Alcæus towards an illicit connexion, all that can reasonably be inferred is that he was not a favoured lover. The terms of her reply are nothing more than the received commonplace of coy woman, declining a proposal which happened not to be to her taste, where the language of modesty is as habitually assumed by the loosest characters for the purposes of coquetry, as it is used in its literal sense by the most virtuous. The same or a very similar expression, used probably on a similar occasion, occurred in a passage of Anacreon[1]; nor, if this charitable construction of the phrase be insisted on in the one case, can it, in the spirit of fairness, be denied in the other. The notoriously profligate and licentious Teïan poet would then be entitled to rank, according to this novel standard of poetical morality, as the type of male bashfulness and discretion, by at least as good a right as that by which Sappho, on the strength of her dialogue with Alcæus, has been set apart as the type of female purity and modesty. No less fallacious is the inference proposed to be derived from the expression "pure," applied by Alcæus to Sappho in another passage.[2] Here, again, nothing is known of the circumstances under which the epithet was used. As Alcæus was probably her senior, it may have been addressed to her at an early period of her life, in which it was quite appropriate. It would be, however, at the best, unreasonable to expect that an enthusiastic lover would be deterred from paying such a compliment to an amiable mistress,

[1] καλὸν εἶναι τῷ ἔρωτι τὰ δίκαια. Ap. Max. Tyr. Dissert. VIII. p. 96. Dav.

[2] Alcæi Fragm. XLII. Matthiæ.

merely by the consideration that it might not be merited in a rigidly moral point of view.

That the general tendency of Sappho's poetry was not more favourable to her private character than that of the portions preserved, is equally certain from the testimony of those who had access to her entire collection. The judgement of Ovid, while the most specific that has been transmitted, is here as distinct as it is conclusive. While there are few poets of antiquity who combined in a higher degree than Ovid brilliant and varied genius with critical taste and discernment, and with extensive knowledge of the antient world, its history and manners, his authority is here of the greater weight, that neither his own moral habits nor those of his muse were such as to render him a fastidious judge in the case of a fair fellow-minstrel.[1] When, therefore, we find Ovid

[1] Welcker admits that Ovid has preserved the most numerous notices of the real facts of Sappho's history. (Kleine Schr. vol. II. p. 81.) He admits that the same Ovid must probably have known her compositions by heart. He even goes the length (to which we are hardly prepared to follow him) of maintaining, on Ovid's authority, against O. Müller, the reality of the name and person of Phaon as the genuine lover of Sappho. (Op. cit. p. 124. 136.) Yet after this large recognition of the value of Ovid's testimony, that testimony is summarily discarded as a mere echo of the calumnies of the Attic comedians, in regard to every point where it seriously militates against the modern theory. The principal reasons assigned for this uncourteous rejection of any evidence to Sappho's moral character, on the part of a witness so valuable in all other particulars, is, that Ovid, as a Roman, was incapable (op. cit. p. 120.) of "raising himself above the realities of life to the level of Greek ideal sensibility." This imputed disqualification is precisely what, according to the view here taken of the case, imparts the chief weight to his authority. It certainly enabled him to judge more dispassionately, and, we apprehend, more truly, of the moral attributes of the poetess, than any such second-rate Platonist as Maximus Tyrius, to whose affected sentimentalities (Diss. VIII.) so much importance has been attached. Even the great masters of the Academy were evidently so swayed by their own erotic theories, and so

characterising the amatory poetry of Sappho as "unsurpassed in lasciviousness,"[1] it seems incredible that effusions open to such a censure in such a quarter could have been indited by a really modest or virtuous woman. His verdict is well supported by such other antient critics as have ventured, with equal candour, to draw a distinction between the moral tendency and the poetical power and brilliancy of her compositions.[2]

Her relations to her female associates.

17. Another delicate question involved in this inquiry is that concerning the precise nature of the intercourse between Sappho and her female associates. It will neither be necessary nor agreeable here to dwell at any length on the chapter of Greek scandalous history with which this question connects itself, further than by remarking that the taste for impure intercourse, which forms so foul a blot on the Greek national character, was not confined to the male sex; and that, among the females who had the chief credit of being infected with that taste, the Lesbians were so remarkable, as to have procured for it, under its several varieties, the distinctive title of the Lesbian

bedazzled by the brilliant illustrations of those theories with which the muse of Sappho supplied them, as to destroy the whole value of their commentaries, in so far as bearing on the moral element of her character. Their habitual association of her with Anacreon, and other notoriously licentious authors of the erotic order (see p. 294. sq., note), in their commentaries, is also in itself conclusive proof that their judgements were regulated by far other considerations than those of female virtue or modesty.

[1] Art. Amat. III. 331.

[2] Apul. Apol. p. 11. ed. Casaub. 1593; Martial, Epigr. VII. 68., X. 35.; conf. Athen. XIII. 605.; Epicrates ap. eund. Compare more especially the specimen given by Athenæus (XV. p. 697.) of the "Locrian" style of amorous composition, to which style he alludes (XIV. p. 639.) as identical with that of Sappho.

vice. This certainly affords strong presumption that in a Lesbian female association, the chief object of which was the pursuit of love and pleasure, even this eccentric variety of the passion was not likely to be excluded. Here again, as in regard to Sappho's dealings with the other sex, veneration for the general brilliancy of her muse, with the indulgence shown by the Attic, especially the Platonic, school of philosophy towards every kind of amatory influence, seems to have checked any more severe scrutiny of this part of her character; and, among the few remaining comments on the subject, the authority of her apologists is, perhaps, equal to that of her detractors. Her extant remains, however, which still supply the modern critic with his own means of judging between the two parties, leave no reasonable doubt as to which was in the right. In several places, Sappho addresses certain of her female associates in terms of no less voluptuous passion than those employed towards her male objects of adoration. In one passage[1], equal in power and nearly equal in length to the ode to Venus already cited, her ardour is inflamed by the sight of a rival, a male rival, it may be remarked, participating, however slightly, in the privileges to which she herself claimed an exclusive right. She describes it as "a bliss equal to "that of the gods to sit by the side of her beloved, to "hear the music of her voice, and gaze on her fasci- "nating smile. At the sight of another enjoying this "happiness her heart sinks, her tongue falters, her "lips refuse their office; a subtle fire runs through her "veins, dimness overspreads her eyes, a hollow sound "fills her ears; cold perspiration, with tremor and

[1] Frag. II.; conf. note to p. 308.

"ashy paleness, pervades her frame, and she feels as "if the last ebb of life was approaching." Elsewhere she describes her sensation towards her beloved under the figure of "Cupid, that bitter-sweet resistless "enemy, creeping over her frame, and relaxing every "limb;" and, on the same and other occasions, gives equally keen expression to her feelings of mortification and jealousy towards any supposed rival in the affections of a favourite mistress.[1]

The former of these extracts has been cited by Longinus, as the passage which, in the whole volume of Greek erotic literature, offered the most powerful concentration, into one brilliant focus, of the various modes in which the overwhelming influence of amorous concupiscence can display itself on the human frame. The modern apologists of Sappho discover in it merely a warm expression of "maternal interest" and "friendly attachment;"[2] and the passionate tone which it assumes does but reflect "the extreme excitability of the Greek character, and the ardour of the southern temperament, where feelings which among nations of colder blood remain altogether distinct are blended or confounded."

That the warm temperament of the Greeks led them to feel more keenly, and express their emotions more vehemently, than the natives of northern latitudes, may, as a general rule, be admitted. To suppose, however, that it ever led them, in embodying those emotions in poetical form, to confound feelings as completely distinct among them as among all other nations; that it ever led them, when their hearts were overflowing with maternal fondness, or sisterly

[1] Frg. XXXVII.; conf. LVIII. LXXX.
[2] Müll. Hist. of Gr. Lit. p. 177, 178.

friendship, to address the object of those affections in the language of ardent sensual passion, were as great a libel on the genius as on the common sense of a race so deservedly celebrated for discriminating taste and propriety in every branch of literature and art. It will, doubtless, have already occurred to the critical reader, that in the exact ratio in which such overstrained attempts to explain away or palliate the obvious and natural import of these brilliant effusions may tend to vindicate the moral character of the poetess, they must tend to depreciate her poetical genius. There is no escape from one or other alternative. If Sappho did *not* mean or feel what she has expressed in the passages above quoted, then the most brilliant extant specimens of her muse become comparatively unmeaning rhapsodies; if she *did* so feel, her sentiments were not those of maternal tenderness or sisterly friendship.[1]

Critical estimate of her works.

18. An agreeable change of subject is afforded by the transition from the foregoing impartial, and, because impartial, in many respects painful, scrutiny of the moral character of Sappho, to the critical estimate of her poetical genius. Upon this head no difference of opinion can be discovered among either antient or modern commentators, none at least disparaging to her fame. Of all Greek lyric poets, she is the one perhaps who, in her own peculiar branch of inspiration, was held most nearly to have attained perfection. The unanimity which pervades the judgements of the leading antient critics has already been pointed out.

[1] The commentary of Longinus, τὰ συμβαίνοντα ταῖς ἐρωτικαῖς μανίαις παθήματα . . . ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας αὐτῆς, κ.τ.λ., would also, if that commentator had understood his text in the sense proposed by Müller, be a pure nullity. Conf. Appendix F.

Our means of testing their verdict by internal evidence, though unfortunately but limited, are yet amply sufficient to establish its justice. There can also be no doubt that, in the two longer compositions above appealed to, we possess two of her most brilliant productions; for as such they are quoted and eulogised by the standard authors in whose text they have been preserved.

That the more dazzling characteristics of Sappho's muse were of a licentious, or even meretricious, tendency, can in itself form no conclusive argument of her having been, when free from counteracting influences, less feelingly alive, in the abstract, than many rival poets of less exceptionable morality, to the truly great and excellent in human character, even to the virtues by which she herself was least distinguished. Such anomalies are familiar in every age, and, above all, perhaps, as evinced by the case of Archilochus, in the rich variety of ethic studies presented by the literary history of Greece. The works of Sappho, however, supply no evidence of her fame having rested on any more solid basis than her power of portraying the tender passions, coupled with brilliancy of description, purity of style, and harmony of numbers. Her hymenæals, where a wider opening was afforded to a more sober vein of sentiment, are much in the same glowing enthusiastic strain as the rest of her odes. The existing collection comprises, indeed, occasional passages ostensibly of the didactic or gnomic order, embodying maxims for the guidance of female conduct, addressed to her young friends. These lessons are, however, directed chiefly to the formation of the taste of her pupils in music, poetry, dress, carriage, and other elegant arts and

accomplishments which fell within her own immediate province of academical instruction. The few dogmas of a graver tendency, however beautifully expressed, are but specimens of what may be called the popular ethic commonplace of the lyric literature of the age.[1] It was, therefore, to the spirit of love, tenderness, and ideal beauty, which, free from the alloy of any darker or sterner ingredients, breathed through all her productions, rather than to any depth or precision of the moral element with which they were seasoned, that she was indebted for the high encomia pronounced on her intellectual attributes by Solon and Plato, authorities themselves peculiarly susceptible of the former class of influences. Her pathos, even where most overpowering, appeals but to the more delicate sympathies of our nature, to those concentrated around the affections of love, sorrow, mortification, or disappointment. The graver or darker moods of mind, fortitude, endurance, resignation, still less anger, revenge, remorse, seem to have found no place in her system of poetical ethics. Hence the prevailing suavity of her style as often subsides to languor as rises to passion, but seldom if ever sinks below the one or soars above the other. The honour which Longinus awards to one of her odes, of ranking among the examples of that attribute of poetical

[1] Frg. XLI. XLV. One of the passages of this kind (frg. X.) partakes much of what is called in modern criticism a "conceit." A question appears to have arisen in Sappho's conversational circle as to the merits or demerits of death. The poetess, in answer probably to some sentimental commonplace of an opposite tendency, argued that "death could not be a blessing, otherwise the gods would die. Their reservation to themselves of the privilege of immortality proved that death was an evil." Sappho was satirised accordingly on the Attic stage for such exercise of intellectual subtlety. Supra, p. 300, note.

power classed by him under the general head of The Sublime, is due solely to the wonderful concentration within those few stanzas of the more striking phases or influences of the passion of love. Nor did she herself lay claim to any loftier vein of inspiration, if we may trust the terms in which one of her antient critics has made her contrast her own muse with that of her countryman Alcæus.[1]

Her imagery, in the same graceful spirit of consistency, is borrowed alone or chiefly from the softer more attractive objects of life, real or ideal; the sweetest flowers, the fairest colours, the gentlest animals, the brightest phases of the heavenly bodies. Even the destructive elements assume, at her behest, mildness in the exercise of their powers. "The "wind rushing down the mountain gorge, and rend- "ing the boughs of the majestic oak,"[2] as a type of the invincible power of love on the sternest bosom; "the autumnal rain hissing through the branches, "and scattering the seared leaves of the ash,"[3] as a figure of some cheerless affection of the heart, are the harshest and dreariest images borrowed by her from the phenomena of the material world. Her mythological agents are similarly selected: the "bliss- "bestowing Cypris; the bitter-sweet, resistless, limb- "dissolving Cupid[4]; the golden-throned Aurora; the "rosy-armed Graces[5]; the Muses with their fair "flowing tresses[6]; Leda with her hyacinthine egg[7]; "Mercury with his ambrosial chalice."[8] Once alone the dark Hades is invoked, as a terror to the female who "despises the flowers of Pieria."[9] Such figurative embellishments, however, are chiefly displayed

[1] Ovid. Her. xv. 30. [2] Frg. LXXIV. [3] Frg. IV. [4] Frg. XXXVII. [5] Frg. XXII. [6] Frg. L. [7] Frg. XXX. [8] Frg. LXXIX. [9] Frg. XIX.

in her lighter passages. Her more vivid outbreaks of passion are distinguished rather by that truthful, unstudied, and unadorned simplicity of expression, which insures their effect on the reader by the testimony it affords to their sincerity in the breast of their author. In the ode, for example, selected by Longinus as illustrative of the amatory sublime, the whole of that electrifying effect which he so well appreciates depends on the naked reality with which the combined emotions are described. The same remark applies to her complaining ode to Venus, where, with the exception of the agency of the goddess herself, the whole description, however brilliantly worded, is confined to the actual facts and feelings to which it was the main object of the poetess to give expression.

The passage above referred to, in which Sappho taunts a noble Lesbian dame with insensibility to the charm of her own favourite pursuits, shows that she possessed considerable powers of sarcasm when she thought fit to exercise them:

κατθανοῖσα δὲ κείσῃ, οὐδ' ἔτι τις μναμοσύνα σέθεν
ἔσσετ' οὐδέποτ' εἰς ὕστερον· οὐ γὰρ πεδέχεις ῥόδων
τῶν ἐκ Πιερίας· ἀλλ' ἀφανὴς, κἠν 'Αΐδα δόμοις,
φοιτάσεις, πεδ' ἀμαυρῶν νεκύων ἐκπεποταμένα. . . .

In the cold grave where thou shalt lie,
All memory too of thee shall die;
Who, in this life's auspicious hours,
Disdain'st Pieria's genial flowers.
And, in the mansions of the dead,
With the vile crowd of ghosts thy shade,
While nobler spirits point with scorn,
Shall flit neglected and forlorn. . . .

The metres of Sappho are, in their general charac-

ter, substantially the same as those of Alcæus; combinations of dactylic, trochaïc, and choriambic forms, occasionally sustained by the more emphatic iambus and spondee. The chief difference between their modes of employing the elements common to each is, that, while Alcæus avails himself with greater freedom of those of a more masculine cadence, in imparting vigour to the native softness of Æolian harmony, Sappho rather seeks to turn that softness to its full account, in enhancing the tenderness and pathos of her appeals.[1] The melody not only of her numbers, but of her language, and her peculiar faculty of adapting the sound of the words and the structure of the sentences to the character of the idea to be expressed, are especially noticed by antient critics.[2] By one her whole poetry is described as so perfectly musical and harmonious, that even the harshest voice or most awkward recital could hardly render it unpleasing to the ear.[3] Her odes were arranged by herself to the softest of Greek measures, the Mixolydian, of which some authors describe her as the inventress.[4]

[1] This effect may be illustrated, in the conversion of the iambus of the Alcaïc into the trochee of the Sapphic strophe, by the transposition of a single syllable common to the leading verse of each:

τŏ | μēν γăρ ēνθέν κῡμă κŭλīνδĕταī|
| ποīκĭλōθρŏν' āθăνăτ' Αφρŏδī|τă.

For a more detailed analysis of the metres of Sappho, see Neue, p. 12. sqq.; and Smith, Dict. of Greek and Rom. Biogr. art. Sappho, to which the author is indebted for the foregoing metrical scheme.

[2] Dion. Hal. de Comp. Verb. XXIII; De adm. vi dic. Demosth. p. 1079. Reisk.

[3] Demetrius de Elocut. CXXXII, conf. CLXVI.

[4] Aristox. ap. Plut. de M. XVI. It is somewhat remarkable that no notice is extant of an edition of Sappho having been prepared by any one of the great Alexandrian critics, or even of her poems having, like the works of Archilochus, Alcæus, and other leading lyric masters of

Branches of composition cultivated by her.

19. The entire works of Sappho, as indicated by the grammarians, comprised Love-songs (Erotica), Epithalamia, or Bridal-songs, Hymns, Epigrams, Elegies, and Iambics.[1] The collection was distributed by the same authorities into nine books, with reference more, it would seem, to the varieties of the measure than of the subject of the compositions. Of Iambics in the proper sense no examples remain; and the two or three preserved specimens of Elegiac measure, in so far as entitled to a place in the collection, being upon the whole the least authenticated part of its contents, belong to the previous head of Epigrams. By far the greater portion of her remains are of the two first-mentioned classes, the Erotica and Epithalamia. No passages of so purely convivial a character have been transmitted as to warrant the belief that the works of Sappho comprised poems of the Bacchic order. The existing collection, however, contains many incidental illustrations or allusions of a Dionysiac tendency.[2] These, although for the most part not only free from any tinge of grossness, but even marked by all her usual grace and delicacy, may yet probably have afforded a handle to the composition of some of those scenes of the comic drama where she is introduced as boon companion of Archilochus, Hipponax, and Anacreon in their revels. Sappho is also mentioned among the supposed authors of some of the popular Scolia.[3]

Her hymns were chiefly in honour of Venus and

this period, supplied those critics with subject of special commentary. The only authors of commentaries on Sappho whose names have been recorded are Chamæleon, Callias, and others, who belong to the secondary order of classical grammarians. Conf. Neue, p. 11.

[1] Suid. v. Σαπφώ; conf. Neue, p. 10 sq.

[2] Frgg. v. vii. xv. xxxiii. lxx. lxxix.

[3] Eustath. ad Il. ii. 711.

Cupid. Mention, however, is also made of one to Diana[1]; and other deities, it may be presumed, were occasionally celebrated. All these addresses appear to have been in an amorous rather than a devotional strain, dwelling on the lighter adventures rather than on the more dignified functions of the divinities invoked. Threnetic odes are also ascribed to Sappho, among which a lament of Adonis[2] is alluded to: but these poems are not classed under any separate head; and, in an extant passage, she plainly intimates that this gloomier style of composition was little to her taste.[3]

The Bridal songs formed a large portion of her works, under considerable variety of character. Sometimes they assumed the form of eclogues, or short dramatic pieces[4], where bands of youths and virgins pleaded, in heroic measure, for and against the right of the bridegroom to his mistress. A similar altercation took place between the chorus of virgins and the friend of the bridegroom, who acted as porter at the door of the thalamus, and whom the band of fair choristers endeavoured to obstruct in the exercise of his functions. To this poetical dialogue succeeded a chorus in which the contending parties joined, and which was arranged in short lyric strophes, with appropriate epode or burden. Occasionally, as we have seen, the dramatic details of the piece were extended to the inner arcana of the thalamus, in a spirit of minuteness in better keeping with the genius at large of the Sapphic muse, than with the dignity and sanctity of the matrimonial

[1] Philostr. vit. Apoll. I. 30.
[2] Anthol. Pal. VII. 407.; conf. frg. CXXVIII.
[3] Frg. XXVIII.
[4] Frg. XXXVIII.; Neue ad loc.

rite. That such was the plan of these compositions appears from the tenor of their remains illustrated by parallel notices of antient writers.[1] Other evidence to the same effect is supplied by the analogy of two popular hymenæal odes of Catullus[2], comprising many of the same metrical forms preferred by the poetess in similar cases, and much of the imagery and language of which is borrowed from still extant passages of Sappho. It is, therefore, the more to be regretted that no entire specimen of her odes of this class should have been preserved, from their having offered apparently, on a small scale, a nearer approach to pure dramatic composition than had yet been made in any other department of poetry, even in the dithyramb, from which the regular drama derived its origin. The loss is also cruelly embittered by the tantalising brilliancy of some of the passages which have reached us, either in the original, or as paraphrased by the more tasteful antient commentators. In one[3] place, she described "the bridegroom as conducted by Ve-
"nus in the chariot of the Graces, and escorted by
"a chorus of Nymphs and Cupids. The hair of
"the goddess was bound with hyacinthine fillets, ex-
"cept in front, where it sported freely in the breeze.
"The Cupids, their locks entwined with gold, and
"waving torches in the air, ran before the chariot.
"The bride was likened to a delicious fruit, the
"sweets of which had been matured on the topmost
"branch of the tree, coveted by all, accessible to
"none but to the single happy youth destined, in
"their full ripeness, to pluck and enjoy them."

[1] Demetr. de Eloc. CLXVII. [2] Carm. LXI. LXII.

[3] Frg. CXXXIII.; Himerius, Orat. I. iv sqq., conf. frg. XXXV.; Catull. LXII. 39.

DAMOPHYLA. ERINNA. 600 B.C.

20. The only other poetesses to whom tradition assigns a place in this period, Damophyla and Erinna, were both, in the same tradition, pupils of Sappho. Their history, therefore, appropriately connects itself with that of their illustrious friend and preceptress. Damophyla was a native of Pamphylia, a district of Asia Minor colonised by Æolian Greeks. The precise spot of her nativity is not recorded. Neither she nor her poems appear to have enjoyed any great degree of celebrity; nor is her name included in the list of the nine standard lyric poetesses, or mortal muses, of the Alexandrian canon. She composed, like her mistress, love-songs and hymns, none of which have been preserved. Among her compositions of the latter class, one in honour of Artemis is described as a close imitation of similar odes of Sappho.[1] Damophyla.

Greater interest attaches to Erinna, as well from the excellence of her genius as from the singularity of the few details of her history which have been recorded. The popular account of her having been a contemporary of Sappho rests but on the testimony of two Byzantine compilers, Suidas[2] and Eustathius[3], who appear, however, to have had access to authentic sources. Eusebius[4], on the other hand, on less sufficient authority[5], brings her epoch down Erinna.

[1] Philostr. vit. Apoll. I. 30.

[2] v. Ἠρίννα.

[3] Eustath. ad Il. II. 711.

[4] Ap. Hieronym. ad Ol. 106.

[5] That possibly of Pliny, H. N. XXXIV. viii., who has evidently confounded the name of Myron, the sculptor of the LXXXVIIIth Olympiad, with that of Myro, a female friend of Erinna herself. Conf. Welck. Kl. Schr. vol. II. p. 147.

as low as the cvith Olympiad, about 350 B. C. Some commentators would reconcile these conflicting data by the common, but in this instance, as in almost every other, unwarranted, expedient of assuming two Erinnas; one in the age of Sappho, the other in that of Alexander the Great. The general tenor of the allusions both to herself and her works, especially in the popular anthologies where she is a frequent subject of celebration, is certainly favourable to the tradition of her greater antiquity, and of her connexion with Sappho and her school. Nor, indeed, is it likely, that, had so distinguished a female lived in the age of Alexander the Great, the facts of her history would have been involved in so much obscurity. Upon the whole, therefore, the balance of circumstantial evidence is in favour of the more antient date.

Erinna is familiarly called by the antients a Lesbian or Mitylenæan. These titles, however, seem to refer merely to her habitual residence in Lesbos; for, in other more specific notices, her nativity is ascribed to Telos, a small island of the Ægæan, in the neighbourhood of Rhodes, and a member, it would appear, of the Rhodian confederacy.[1] The preference of Mitylene as her place of abode connects itself with the legend of her intimacy with Sappho, to join whose attractive circle she has very naturally been supposed, like other youthful votaries of love and art, to have removed from her paternal mansion. This view, however, is little consistent with the subsequent and appa-

[1] Suid. et Eustath. locc. citt.; conf. Steph. Byz. v. Τῆλος; but the name of this latter island, like that of Teos, in the notice of Suidas, appears to originate in a corruption of, or confusion with, Telos. Welck. op. cit. p. 146.

rently authentic details of her history.[1] She is there described as dying at the early age of nineteen, a victim to the combined effects of an excited imagination, and of the restraints imposed on its indulgence by her parents, who had no sympathy with her own favourite pursuits, and kept her closely engaged at the loom and other household avocations. Her removal to Lesbos could, under these circumstances, only have been consequent on a general change of residence, from whatever cause, by her family.

This story, therefore, seems, as remarked in a previous page, to illustrate the view above taken of the real character of Sappho's circle of female associates, of their habits, and of the estimation in which they were held by the more orderly and respectable classes of Hellenic society. It was very natural that a pair of honest Dorian settlers in Mitylene should guard against all risk of their daughter's being drawn into the vortex of refined dissipation on the verge of which they had placed her. It was equally natural that a maiden of fervid temperament, conscious of her capacity to shine among the most brilliant members of the Sapphic sisterhood, and exposed on every side to its seductive attractions, should pine and languish under the disappointment.[2]

The most celebrated work of Erinna, entitled Ela-

[1] Suid. et Eustath. locc. citt.; conf. Anthol. Pal. VII. 11., IX. 190.

[2] The following passage of Sappho (frg. XXXII.), whether originally so intended or not, has much the appearance of a remonstrance, placed in the mouth of Erinna, against her mother's interference with her freedom of conduct:

γλυκεῖα μᾶτερ οὔτοι δύναμαι κρέκην τὸν ἰστόν,
πόθῳ δαμεῖσα παιδὸς, βραδινὰν δι' Ἀφροδίταν.

O mother dear, no longer the spindle I can turn,
Such fires for my beloved youth in this sad bosom burn!

cate, or "the Spindle," appears to have been a metrical complaint of the hard destiny which chained her to the loom, and cramped the exercise of the more brilliant talents with which nature had endowed her. The poem embodied, probably, like other parallel compositions of the period, such as the Nanno of Mimnermus, a variety of plaintive notices of, or allusions to, her own affairs and objects of interest. It comprised three hundred hexameter lines, in a dialect described as a combination of Æolic and Doric elements.[1] The more extended celebrity or popularity of this poem appears, judging from extant sources, to have been limited very much to the lower ages of classical literature. No allusion occurs either to Erinna herself or to her "Spindle" until towards the close of the Alexandrian period, when both her history and her works became favourite subjects of comment with the popular epigrammatists. By several of these commentators, the Spindle is described in terms of boundless eulogy, as placing its author, in the art of hexameter composition, on a level with Homer, and as far above Sappho as Sappho was superior to Erinna in lyric song[2]; but, in other more fastidious quarters, it is characterised as distinguished rather by that negative kind of merit which consists in the absence of faults, than by any very striking excellences.[3] Of the two hexameter couplets which have been transmitted in connexion with the name of Erinna, one[4] has, with apparent reason, been considered as a fragment of her Elacate. These verses would seem to have formed the close of a dirge or lament on the

[1] Suid. loc. cit.; Eustath. loc. cit.

[2] Eustath. loc. cit.; conf. Anthol. Pal. ix. 190.

[3] Antiphan. in Anthol. Pal. xi. 322.

[4] Ap. Schneidew. Delect. Poes. Gr. iii. p. 323. frg. i.; Stob. Floril. cxviii. 4.

death of a friend, or possibly on her own anticipated fate, and are in an elegant but somewhat enigmatical strain of plaintive expression. "Soon shall this "faint echo," she sings, "be wafted to Hades, and "all will then be silent in the grave; for the darkness "of death steals over the eyes:"

τοῦτο μὲν εἰς Ἀΐδαν κενεὰ διανήχεται ἀχώ,
σιγὰ δ' ἐν νεκύεσσι· τὸ δὲ σκότος ὄσσε καταῤῥεῖ.

Erinna is also described by her biographers as having composed epigrams.[1] In the popular anthologies, accordingly, various specimens of this kind of composition are attributed to her. Two[2] are sepulchral elegies in honour of a female friend named Baucis. A third[3] is in praise of a work of sculpture. A fourth[4], in two hexameter lines, expresses anxiety for the return of another friend from a voyage. There seems no serious ground for questioning the genuine character of these compositions; and several of them possess considerable merit, especially one of the epitaphs on Baucis. All are perhaps tinged with the sententious mannerism of the later epigrammatic school, a quality which may not seem favourable to the antiquity claimed for their author. That style, however, must have had a beginning; and symptoms of it are not wanting in the collections of Simonides and of other popular poets of an age equal to, or little removed from, that ascribed to Erinna.

[1] Suid. v. Ἠριννα. The Ode to Rome, which vulgarly passes current as a work of Erinna, has been ascribed with better right to Melinno, an otherwise obscure poetess of the early part of the Roman period. Welck. Kl. Schr. vol. II. p. 160.

[2] Anthol. Pal. VII. 710. 712. The genuine character of the latter of these two epitaphs seems to have been recognised by Leonidas of Tarentum, a fellow-epigrammatist, in the third century B.C. Conf. Anthol. Pal. VII. 13.

[3] Anthol. Pal. VI. 352.

[4] Ap. Athen. VII. p. 283.

CHAP. VI.

MIMNERMUS. SOLON. "SEVEN SAGES." PITTACUS. PERIANDER. CLEOBULUS. CHILON. BIAS.

1. MIMNERMUS. HIS AGE, BIRTHPLACE, CHARACTER. — 2. HIS WORKS. STYLE OF ELEGIAC POETRY. — 3. SOLON. HIS AGE, BIRTHPLACE, FAMILY. — 4. EARLY LIFE. SALAMINIAN WAR. SACRED WAR. LEGISLATIVE CODE. — 5. TRAVELS. INTERVIEW WITH CRŒSUS. NARRATIVE OF HERODOTUS. — 6. RETURN TO ATHENS. DEATH. PRIVATE CHARACTER. — 7. POETICAL COMPOSITIONS. GNOMIC SCHOOL OF POETRY. — 8. CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF SOLON'S POETICAL GENIUS AND WORKS. — 9. POEM AND LEGEND OF ATLANTIS. — 10. ITS ORIGIN AND IMPORT. — 11. A PURE PLATONIC ALLEGORY. — 12. "SEVEN SAGES." PITTACUS. — 13. PERIANDER. — 14. JUST ESTIMATE OF HIS CHARACTER. — 15. CLEOBULUS. CLEOBULINE. — 16. CHILON. BIAS.

MIMNERMUS.[1] 600 B.C.

Age, birthplace, character.

1. The age of Mimnermus nearly coincides with that of Sappho, as also with that of his own illustrious friend and correspondent, Solon. His youth extended over the latter part of the seventh century B.C.; his manhood over the first half of the sixth.[2] Of the date of his birth or death no specific notice has been preserved; but he seems to have been somewhat senior to his two distinguished contemporaries. In the best accredited notices[3] he is described as a native of Colophon. Other less valid authorities make him a Smyrnæan.[4] The distinction involved

[1] Conf. Bach. Mimnermi Carmina, Gaisf. Poett. minn. ed. Lips. vol. III. p. 217.; Bergk, Poett. lyrr. p. 314.; Schneidewin, Delect. Poes. Gr. pt. I. p. 12. The remains are cited according to the arrangement of Bach, unless where another collection is specified.

[2] Bach, op. cit. p. 4.; conf. Clint. F. H. vol. I. p. 206. 366.

[3] Strabo, XIV. p. 643.; Procl. Chrestom. Gaisf. p. 379.; conf. Suid. v. Μίμνερμος.

[4] Suid. loc. cit.; who also vaguely mentions Astypalæa, as laying claim

is of little importance as affecting his real origin. The later Ionian Smyrna was a distinguished Colophonian colony, as Mimnermus himself informs us; and as he, in several extant passages, alludes with pride and interest to the destinies of that city[1], it might naturally occur to speculative critics, amid any uncertainty on the subject, to assign the honour of his birth to the daughter rather than to the parent community. The surname Ligyastades[2] also written Ligystiades, Ligyrtiades, by which he is occasionally designated, might seem to imply that his father's name was Ligyastes, or Ligyrtes. The title may, however, with better reason be interpreted, and has been interpreted by the antients, as a mere figurative patronymic, indicating the "Plaintive" style of his poetry.

The only clearly ascertained fact in the life of Mimnermus is his passion for a female flute-player named Nanno[3]; a passion supposed by some commentators to have been unrequited, and to have been the chief source of that repining morbid spirit which pervades his poetry. But of disappointed love no trace appears, either in his remains, or in the notices of those who possessed his works entire. Among the various charges of cruelty preferred by him against destiny, not one is urged on any such ground; and the somewhat vague allusions of the antients to his connexion with Nanno, while indicating that he had rivals, would

to his nativity. This name is common to various unimportant communities in Attica, Ionia, and the isles of the Ægæan.

[1] Strab. XIV. p. 634.; Paus. IX. XXIX.; frgg. XI. XII. XIII.

[2] Suid. loc. cit.; Solon ap. Diog. Laert. in vit. Sol.; conf. Bach, p. 7.

[3] Hermesian. ap. Athen. XIII. p. 598.; Athen. XIII. p. 597.; Posidipp. in Anthol. Pal. XII. 168.

rather imply that he was the successful lover, and as such an object of persecution to less favoured suitors.[1] It is also evident, from the general tone of his verse[2], that his attachment to Nanno was of no such engrossing nature as to prevent his following up his amours freely in other quarters. His more especial devotion to this heroine seems, in fact, to have gone little further than her selection by preference as a poetical centre, or bond of unity, for a compilation of his miscellaneous pieces; for such appears to have been the work which, whether from its having been addressed or merely dedicated to her, bore the title of "Nanno."[3]

The compositions of Mimnermus are more rich in illustrations of the prominent features of his temper and character than of the events of his life. He appears in his own page as an enthusiastic, though far from joyous, votary of pleasure. The ardour of his voluptuous career is tempered throughout by a spirit of peevish discontent, originating, to all appearance, more in a natural melancholy of disposition, and in a keen sense of the ephemeral nature of his favourite enjoyments, than in any real mortification to which he was subjected in the pursuit

[1] Another more delicate cause of the supposed coldness of Nanno has been discovered in the poet's physical disqualification for the duties of a lover by the mutilating effects of a wound. But this view rests solely on an obscure allusion of Ovid (Ibis, 550.), where even the name of the person referred to is of doubtful reading. The tenor of the Colophonian poet's own text is certainly far from favourable to this supposition. Such a cause must have precluded, not merely the success, but the urgent pressure of his suit. The complaints also which he so frequently emits against the influence of old age, and of other natural causes, in destroying the taste or capacity for his favourite enjoyments, would, upon this view, be pointless and unmeaning.

[2] Frg. I. alibi.

[3] Frgg. III. V. IX. XII. XIII.

of them. Modern critics[1], indeed, would discover a more honourable source of this morbid querulous tone of sentiment, in the poet's feelings of distress and humiliation for the declining fortunes of his native Ionian confederacy, exposed to the aggressions and encroachments of the Lydian monarchs. Appeal has been more especially made to the conquest, by those monarchs, of various flourishing Ionian cities, during or shortly before the age of Mimnermus; to that of Colophon, his own residence, by Gyges, in the previous generation; and to that of Smyrna, Colophon's most distinguished colony, possibly his birthplace, taken and destroyed by Halyattes, during the poet's lifetime. But plausible as this mode of explaining the peculiarities of his style may be in theory, it is certain that neither his remains, nor the notices of the antient commentators, afford the least ground of belief that patriotism, or politics in any shape, exercised a serious influence on the tone either of his mind or of his poetical composition. The few passages allusive to his national history are, in fact, among the least gloomy or repining in the whole collection. While no where adverting to the disasters of either Smyrna or Colophon, he refers[2] with apparent pride and satisfaction to the exploits of his Ionian ancestors, who, "crossing from Pylos into Asia, settled at the charm-"ing Colophon; whence issuing, under divine aus-"pices, they seized and possessed the Æolian Smyr-"na." In another passage[3] he describes, also in terms of evident exultation, the valour displayed by a warrior

[1] Müll. Hist. of Gr. Lit. XI. viii. p. 115.

[2] Strab. XIV. p. 634.; frgg. XII. XIII.

[3] Frg. XIII.

of Smyrna, in the course of some early war of that state against the Lydians. He seems, also, in several incidental texts, to intimate with some plainness, that, however alive to the traditional glories of his forefathers, he cared comparatively little for the present condition or concerns of their descendants, his own contemporaries.[1] His outbreaks of melancholy or doleful feeling, on the other hand, are all concentrated around his own selfish, and in great part trivial or imaginary, griefs and annoyances. His sensibility is that of the sensualist, not of the patriot; of the martyr, not to the real calamities of human life, but to those petty ills, if such they can be called, which are in a great measure inseparable from human existence. His most hateful enemy is, not the Lydian with his battering-ram or fetters, but the dæmon of old age, despoiling him of the vigour which enables him freely to participate in his favourite enjoyments, and of the beauty which renders him pleasing to those qualified to bestow them. "He shudders, and "a cold sweat pervades his frame, when he thinks how "transient are the flowers of youth, and contemplates "them fading on his own brow. Death is pronounced "far preferable to life, as soon as the fatal bourn is "overstepped which separates manhood from old "age."[2] Upon these and similar images he dwells with a frequency, a copiousness, and an earnestness, occasionally even a monotonous sameness of repetition, which stamp them as representing his dominant objects of interest. Mimnermus was, in fact, a professed man of pleasure; nor is there reason to believe that he was any thing more. The main

[1] Frg. VII.

[2] Frgg. I. III. V.

difference between him and the ordinary race of Greek debauchees, as represented, for example, by his fellow-poet Anacreon, was that the Teïan bard was a joyous, Mimnermus a discontented, voluptuary. Anacreon cared not for old age. The spirit which, in spite of all such impediments, enabled him to prosecute his jovial career, rather adds zest to his indulgence; and when Venus proves niggardly of her gifts, he finds ample consolation in the never-failing bounties of Bacchus. To the morbid but more refined sensibility of Mimnermus, the enjoyments of the table appear to hold out comparatively little charm. His pursuits and desires are chiefly of the amorous kind; and even these, unless they can be indulged with a certain vigorous freshness, prove a source of discontent rather than of gratification.

These peculiarities of his character are comprehensively and vividly shadowed forth in the wish expressed by him, in an extant and highly characteristic passage of his works, "that his life might be free "from disease or sorrow, but might not be prolonged "beyond his sixtieth year;" as the period, obviously, at which the physical powers, even without disease, begin seriously to decay. To this sentiment Solon, a contemporary and acquaintance, retorted in another epigram, "that the number sixty, under these conditions, might well be corrected into eighty:"

Μιμν. *αἰ γὰρ ἄτερ νούσων τε καὶ ἀργαλέων μελεδώνων*
ἑξηκονταέτη μοῖρα κίχοι θανάτου.

Σολ. *ἀλλ' εἴ μοι κἂν νῦν ἔτι πείσεαι, ἔξελε τοῦτο,*
μηδὲ μέγαιρ' ὅτι σεῦ λώϊον ἐφρασάμην·
καὶ μεταποίησον, Λιγυαστάδη, ὧδε δ' ἄειδε
ὀγδωκονταέτη μοῖρα κίχοι θανάτου.

Mim. Oh that my days, free from disease or woe,
On placid waters down life's stream may flow;
And when their course shall reach its sixtieth year,
Death's friendly sleep may close my sojourn here!

Sol. Bear with me, gentle Colophonian friend,
If I one sentence of thy wish would mend:
The life of man, on terms like these begun,
Its prosperous course full eighty years may run.[1]

A large portion of his remains are, accordingly, little more than running commentaries on the above text, deprecating the approach of old age, and invoking death as a friendly ally and deliverer from the insidious assaults of this his chief or only formidable enemy.

But, although Mimnermus was a morbid and effeminate, and in so far a contemptible voluptuary, he must not be denied the honour which justly belongs to him, of a degree of refinement and delicacy, even purity of taste, in the choice and pursuit of his

[1] Frg. vi.; conf. Bergk. Poett. lyrr. Fragm. Mimn. 6. p. 316., Fragm. Solonis, 22. p. 331. Several modern commentators (Gaisf. Sol. frg. i. ed. Lips. p. 134.; Müll. Hist. of Gr. Lit. xi. viii. p. 115.) have taken the very strange liberty of corrupting the terms and perverting the sense of these two passages, by placing the number eighty in the mouth of Mimnermus, and sixty in that of Solon. The motive for this proceeding appears to have been the assumption, that as Solon, in another familiar text, fixes the ordinary and natural duration of human old age at seventy years, it was not likely that he would be desirous of prolonging the life of a friend to eighty. But is it not, on the other hand, quite as unlikely that he would be desirous of depriving a friend of ten full years of his natural life? We must not, however, overlook the condition by which the wish of Mimnermus was accompanied, "that the prescribed period should be free from disease or sorrow." With this condition, even the infirmities of octogenarian life, however distasteful to the Colophonian sensualist, might be quite palatable to the Athenian philosopher. The improbability, to say the least, of Mimnermus ever having expressed a wish for octogenarian honours is indeed abundantly proved by other passages of his remains, in which he declares he would far rather die than outlive the vigour of his physical faculties.

sensual delights; a combination of qualities of which it might perhaps be difficult to discover another example in the annals of Greek luxurious life. That he had no turn for intemperate revelry, or, in so far as existing evidence admits of our judging, for any species of Bacchic enjoyment which exceeded the bounds of elegant social conviviality[1], has already been remarked. As little trace is there, either in his own remains or in the authentic notices of his life, of his amorous inclinations, however uncontrolled within their own immediate sphere, having ever been directed towards those more degrading walks of sensuality, a taste for which was the boast, as it must ever remain the indelible shame and disgrace, of many even of the more enlightened votaries of pleasure among his fellow-countrymen.[2]

Works. Style of elegiac poetry.

2. Mimnermus seems to have composed exclusively in elegiac measure. He also established a certain claim to originality in the cultivation of this order of composition. Although the elegy had, from its first beginnings, a mournful tendency, and had been awarded a preference in odes of a funebral or melancholy character by Archilochus and other early poets, Mimnermus is the first author who peculiarly and systematically adapted it to the more tender class of plaintive subjects. So highly appreciated were his claims to novelty, if not to absolute originality, in this respect, and so marked the terms in which they were asserted by his admirers, as to have led superficial critics, both antient and modern, to admit him, in the

[1] Conf. Horat. Epist. I. vi. 65.

[2] On the corrupted passage of Athenæus (xv. p. 699.), which some commentators would interpret in this unfavourable sense, see Bach, p. 15.

face of insuperable chronological difficulties, to a competition with Callinus and Archilochus for the honour of "inventing" the elegiac measure itself. Setting aside this more fanciful title to priority, Mimnermus enjoys, perhaps deservedly, the same preeminence among amatory poets of the elegiac order, as Sappho among the cultivators of the melic branches of erotic poetry. Propertius[1] pronounces his amorous muse, by a not certainly very apposite parallel, superior even to that of Homer; and Horace[2], with more propriety, awards him a like preference to Callimachus. His works were also honoured, like those of Archilochus and other distinguished predecessors, with public recitation by professional rhapsodists. Their value, it may be presumed, was greatly enhanced in the estimation of the contemporary audience by the musical accompaniment with which they were provided by their author; Mimnermus being no less distinguished as a musician than as a poet. The instrument on which he chiefly excelled was the flute[3], the one more immediately proper to the Elegiac Muse; and he is also mentioned as the author of several popular and apparently able and elaborate musical compositions.[4]

If, as the tenor of the extant notices imply, the bulk of his collective works were love-songs, but a very disproportionate sample of them is afforded by the preserved passages, to scarcely a single one of which can the above description be considered strictly

[1] I. ix. 11.

[2] Epist. II. ii. 101.; conf. Alex. Ætol. ap. Athen. xv. 699.

[3] Hermesian. ap. Athen. XIII. p. 598.; conf. xv. p. 620.; Suid. v. Μίμ.; Plut. de Mus. IX.

[4] Among others, of the dirge called Κραδίας νόμος, performed at the procession of the human victims of Apollo, in the Thargelia and other barbarous rites of the same description. Plut. de Mus.

applicable. Among those of sufficient compass to afford any distinct criterion of the nature of their subject, seven are engrossed with his favourite complaints of the ephemeral nature of worldly enjoyment; two contain the notices above referred to, of his native republic Colophon and its colony Smyrna; as many are devoted to incidental points of mythology; while the remainder consist of casual remarks on men and things. The whole comprise about eighty verses.

The most celebrated, as it was probably the most bulky, composition of Mimnermus was that bearing the name of his mistress Nanno, in two books; and from it are derived the greater number of passages in the preserved collection. The precise character of this poem is doubtful. It appears to have been too long for a mere love elegy or encomial address. Nor do the extant citations betray symptoms of the style proper to such productions. The most probable view is that already noticed, that, like the Lyde of his countryman Antimachus, the Bittis of Philetas, and the Leontium of Hermesianax, all modelled probably on the Nanno, it was a collection of poems concentrated by means of a dedication, or perhaps by some internal link of connexion, around the person of the one more engrossing object of the poet's gallant devotion.[1]

The poetry of Mimnermus, as might be expected from his own refined effeminacy of character and from the tenor of his favourite subjects, is more remarkable for elegance of expression than for other more sterling qualities. There is something, indeed, in the querulous selfishness of the discontented voluptuary, which, in spite of the acknowledged graces of diction by which his style is adorned, can hardly fail to

[1] Conf. Bach. p. 21.

render many parts of his collection unpalatable to the reader of refined taste or judgement. The moral precepts which occasionally beam through this not very favourable medium inculcate at best but a meagre as well as morbid system of ethics. Nor are the few graver dogmas of poetical philosophy which he inculcates greatly distinguished for either point or originality. One of the most effective among them is a paraphrase[1] of a familiar commentary of Homer on the vanity of human life. Much, indeed, of the charm of several others of his best passages consists in an elegant adaptation of popular Homeric ideas and phrases to his own elegiac measure and tone of expression.[2] In regard to all the subordinate details of poetical mechanism, his style may be pronounced unexceptionable. His versification is throughout flowing and harmonious; and his language, though at times highly ornate and abounding in epithets, is entirely free from bombast or affectation. That he was well qualified to treat subjects of a higher order, where circumstances occurred to stimulate his muse beyond its usual feeble range of efforts, is evinced by the passage[3] above referred to, describing the exploits of the antient Smyrnæan warrior. This is certainly the most creditable specimen of his art, both in conception and style. Homeric in diction, but without servile imitation, and breathing a masculine energy and a patriotic fire worthy of Tyrtæus, it may claim to rank among the noblest applications of the elegy to heroic subjects. The pleasure derived from its perusal is in some degree alloyed, consequently, by the reflexion

[1] Frg. II.; conf. Il. VI. 146., XXI. 464. alibi.

[2] Conf. also frg. II. 9. with Hesiod. Opp. 155.

[3] Frg. XIV.

that it displays a mind endowed with powers of the highest order, trammelled in their exercise by the baser sensual influences to which their possessor had voluntarily subjected himself.

In his mythological allusions, Mimnermus shows a natural partiality for the popular, sometimes fantastic, novelties of the lyric school of art. Like Alcman, he admitted an older race of Muses, daughters of Uranus[1], and distinct, consequently, from the daughters of Jove and Mnemosyne, who alone figure in the primitive Homeric and Hesiodic systems. He gave twenty children to Niobe, instead of the more classical number of twelve, to which Homer restricts her offspring. He also followed, or coincided with, Pisander and Stesichorus, in describing the chariot of the sun as a golden drinking-goblet, the workmanship of Vulcan; a not very genial, nor indeed very intelligible, specimen of mystical allegory, upon which, however, he expatiates in one of his most beautiful descriptions.[2] In his version[3] of the Argonautic legend, also cited by Strabo as an innovation, here a very elegant one, on the popular fable, Jason appears to have sought and found his golden prize, not in the gloomy Scythian regions of the Euxine Sea, but on the sunny banks of the Eastern Ocean.[4]

SOLON. 634—554 B. C.

3. There may be some readers to whom, more familiar perhaps with the political than with the literary Solon.

[1] Frg. xi. [2] Frg. ix. [3] Frg. x.

[4] Although Mimnermus occupies a high, perhaps, in the actual mechanism of his art, the highest, rank among Greek elegiac poets, there is no notice of his works having been made the subject of specific commentary by any of the leading antient grammarians.

annals of Greece, the life and actions of Solon, the distinguished philosopher, statesman, and legislator, the framer of an elaborate statutory code which formed the foundation of the whole subsequent written law of Europe, may scarcely appear to furnish a chapter in the purely poetical history of his country. The more practised Hellenist, however, will not fail at once to recognise, in the section devoted to this remarkable man and to his fellow-sages of similar character, a necessary as well as appropriate and instructive conclusion to the history of this period. Solon's life and times may, in fact, be considered as forming in themselves both a line of demarcation and a link of connexion between the poetical and the intellectual age of Greece: in the more strictly political capacity in which he is familiarly viewed, he belongs solely or chiefly to the latter; in the capacity in which he will here also be contemplated, as a votary of elegant pursuit, he is claimed with equal justice by the former. This peculiarity acquires an additional interest from the mode in which the two apparently distinct elements of his genius are blended into one in their active exercise. Great as was his political influence on the destinies of Athens and of Greece, his earliest, and at all times his favourite, medium for the exercise of that influence was strictly poetical. Instead of that torrent of forensic eloquence by which Pericles and Demosthenes swayed the will of their fellow-citizens to their purpose, Solon resorted with equal confidence and success to the eloquence of his muse. But, although flourishing prior to the epoch at which prose composition had obtained the rank of a cultivated branch of literature, he may also in so far be considered as in advance of his age,

that, if not the first Attic statesman who resorted to this more practical and less imaginative mode of perpetuating facts or doctrines, he was the first whose attempt is known to have acquired general or permanent authority. He might thus, in right of the scanty but apparently authentic remains of his code, rank, if not as a popular prose writer, as at least the first extant author of Attic prose composition. Closely identified, however, as are the political and the literary element of his character, the former, it is obvious, opens up a wide field of commentary, which does not properly fall within our present limits. Our remarks on his life and influence as a statesman will therefore be restricted to such as are necessary to a just estimate of his genius as an author.[1]

Age, birthplace, family.

That Solon was a native of Athens, or at least of Attica, is the prevailing opinion of his biographers, confirmed by the indirect notices contained in his own text.[2] Some, however, describe him as born in the isle of Salamis, and as hence by courtesy alone styled an Athenian. This view, however, is scarcely compatible with the fact which assumes so prominent an importance in his own biography, that Salamis, at the period of his nativity, was not a province of Attica, having been first annexed to that state by himself. In regard to his age, the only point very clearly ascertained is the date of his legislation, which is placed by the concurrent testimony of the best authorities in the XLVIth Olympiad, or 594 B. C. Assuming

[1] Conf. Bach. Solonis Carmina, &c. Bonn, 1825; Gaisf. Poett. minn. ed. Lips. vol. III. p. 130.; Bergk. Poett. lyrr. Gr. p. 320.; Schneidewin. Delect. Poes. Gr. pt. I. p. 17. The remains are here quoted according to the arrangement of Gaisford, unless where another collection is specified.

[2] Diog. Laert. in vit. Sol. I. ii. 45.; Diod. Sic. IX. i.; Conf. Bach. præf. ad Sol. Fragm. p. 1. sqq.

him to have been about forty years of age at this epoch, and to have lived to the age of eighty, as stated by Diogenes Laertius[1], his birth would fall about 634, his death in 554. That he survived the usurpation of Pisistratus, which took place in 560 B. C., is admitted by all authorities; but by several of the more trustworthy he is said to have died but two years subsequent to that event.[2] Little attention is due to the account of Lucian, that he lived to the age of a hundred.

The family of Solon was among the most illustrious of Athens, tracing its descent from the antient royal blood of the Codridæ.[3] His father was a citizen of but moderate fortune, whose name is stated by the greater number of authorities to have been Execestides[4]: by others he is called Euphorion.[5] The latter is probably the real name, the former a figurative surname allusive to the "healing" legislative reforms of the owner's son, and finds its parallel in the similarly significant patronymics of Cycleus and Ligyastades, above alluded to in the lives of Arion and Mimnermus. Solon's mother was first cousin to the mother of Pisistratus[6]; and his personal connexion with that celebrated usurper, which in later life assumed so great public importance, is said to have been in his earlier days of the most affectionate, not perhaps of the most innocent nature.[7] While yet a young man, he was induced to travel upon mercantile speculation; according to some accounts, with a view

[1] In vit. 62.; conf. Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. I. pp. 227. 231.; Bach, op. cit. p. 2. sqq.
[2] Plut. in vit. xxxii.
[3] Plut. in vit. I.; Diog. Laert. vit. Plat. init.; Suid. v. Κοδρίδης.
[4] Plut. loc. cit.
[5] Didym. ap. Plut. loc. cit.
[6] Heraclid. ap. Plut. in vit. I.
[7] Plut. loc. cit.

of bettering his family affairs; in other accounts, curiosity and thirst of knowledge are assigned as his motive.[1]

Early life. Salaminian war.

4. Solon's first efforts in poetry are described by his antient biographers as light fancy pieces, of an amorous or convivial tendency, composed for his own amusement or that of his friends.[2] His compositions of this kind, however, as their existing remains prove, were not confined to his youth. At a more mature age, the political vicissitudes of his country led him to direct his genius to nobler purposes. Athens had long been involved in a severe contest with the neighbouring Dorian state of Megara, for the possession of the isle of Salamis, which lay contiguous to the coast of both countries. The Athenians having, after many sufferings and sacrifices, been worsted in the struggle, and seeing little prospect of its ultimate success, determined to abandon it altogether, and passed a law denouncing the penalty of death against whosoever should propose the renewal of hostilities. This self-imposed humiliation of his country was deeply felt by her future legislator, in common with many other men of spirit among his fellow-countrymen. For long, however, the terror of the decree prevented any public declaration of their sentiments, until the boldness and ingenuity of Solon struck out an expedient for evading the law, and rousing the more apathetic citizens to a sense of their disgrace. Shutting himself up in his house, he caused it to be reported that he had suddenly become deranged. In his retirement he occupied himself in composing an ode adapted to his purpose, which he committed to

[1] Plut. in vit. II. III.

[2] Plut. loc. cit.

memory. Having fully matured his design, in concert with a chosen few of the friends who shared his patriotic feelings, and among whom, according to some not very valid authorities was the youthful Pisistratus, he selected for its execution the day of a great public assembly. Rushing into the agora with wild gestures and disordered attire, he appealed to the multitude in the assumed character of a herald from the "Sacred Island" to the Athenian people, exhorting them, in an address of a hundred spirited lines, to make another attempt at reasserting their meanly relinquished rights. The stratagem was completely successful. His own confederates loudly applauded his proposal, and were backed by the popular voice. The repeal of the law was carried by acclamation. In the sequel, by a series of successful measures, also planned and executed by Solon, the island was conquered, and, under the auspices and arbitration, as is said, of the Spartan government, was permanently annexed to the Athenian dominions.[1]

Sacred war.

Solon next appears as a leading promoter of the "Sacred war,"[2] carried on by the Amphictyons against the Cirrhæans, on account of their sacrilegious usurpation of the privileges and funds of the Pythian sanctuary. Another transaction of importance in which he engaged, and which has already been noticed in the life of Epimenides, was the purification of Athens from the stain of blood and sacrilege, called the "Cylonian curse." For the successful performance of this duty, as also for various provisions embodied in his legislative code, tradition reports him

[1] Plut. in vit. VIII. sq.; Diog. Laert. in vit. 46. sqq.; conf. Aristot. Rhet. I. xvi.; Herodot. I. lix.

[2] Plut. in vit. XI.; Aristot. ibid.

to have been greatly indebted to the advice and suggestions of the Cretan sage.[1]

Legislative code.

The removal of these impediments to the prosperity of the republic, instead of conducing to its tranquillity, appears even to have had an opposite effect, by affording fresh opportunity for the prosecution of those internal feuds which pestilence or foreign war had for a time at least the advantage of suspending. The old contentions of the "Mountain," the "Plain," and the "Shore," the pastoral, agricultural, and maritime classes of the citizens, again broke out with renewed virulence.[2] The evils of faction were aggravated by the distressed condition of the lower order of citizens,. overwhelmed with debts to their wealthier neighbours. The unhappy condition of the republic at this period has been eloquently described by Solon in extant passages allusive to his own reforms.[3] The burthens of the poorer class were rendered the more intolerable by the severity of the law of creditor and debtor, which entitled the former to rights of vassalage over the defaulting client, or even to sell him abroad into slavery, if permanently unable to fulfil his engagements. In this emergency, a general desire arose for a new and more equitable system of laws, by which the poor hoped to be relieved of a portion of their burthens, and the rich to have the power of enforcing their obligations placed on a more definite and less invidious footing. Solon was by common consent intrusted with the important duty of compiling the improved code, and was appointed archon, with enlarged authority for carrying his ordinances into effect. His own parti-

[1] Supra, Vol. II. p. 464.

[2] Plut. in vit. XIII.

[3] Frgg. XV. XXVIII.

sans are said to have strongly urged him to put an end at once to the evils of anarchy by a permanent usurpation of supreme power.[1] But his virtue was proof against this temptation, as well as against the ridicule to which, as appears from still extant passages of his works, his patriotic scruples exposed him.[2] Aware of the fickle temper of his countrymen, he took the precaution, before promulgating his code, of exacting from them an oath to maintain its enactments inviolable during a period of at least ten years. The wisdom of this measure was afterwards fully justified.

It would be transgressing the bounds of Solon's literary biography, to enlarge on the merits, defects, or peculiarities of his legislative system. With many excellences, amply approved by the subsequent experience of Greece and Europe, that system combined, like all human productions, various faults and anomalies. Some of these were acknowledged and defended by their author[3], on the ground that his policy had been to give the Athenians, not theoretically the best laws, but the best which, under the circumstances, they were qualified to enjoy. In one of his political elegies[4], he himself describes the ordinances of his code as extending in much detail to all the relations of civil and social life. Among the chief defects, accordingly, imputed to his laws was a want of precision in these details, and the consequent wide opening which they afforded for litigation; defects to which probably all elementary codes must, in the ordinary complications of society, be more or less liable.

[1] Plut. in vit. XIV.
[2] Frgg. XXV. XXVII.
[3] Plut. in vit. XV. sqq.; conf. frg. VII.
[4] Frg. XXVIII. v. 16. sq.

5. The consequence, however, of this ambiguity, whether the fault of the legislator or of the materials with which he had to deal, was, that no sooner had the system been brought into full operation, than he was appealed to on all sides for counsel and guidance in obscure or doubtful questions.[1] Apart from the constant interruption of his leisure to which he was thus exposed, the difficulty, in more subtle cases, of satisfying the applicants gave plausible opening to the charge of inconsistency, ignorance, or breach of his own statutes. Under these circumstances, he again, on pretext of commercial pursuits, quitted Athens[2], with the intention of sojourning abroad during the remainder of the ten years of unconditional observance of his code for which he had stipulated on the part of the citizens; in the hope that the new institutions might, during his absence, acquire the force of custom, in addition to the solemnity of law. He first visited Egypt, and conferred with the priests of that country relative to the early history, physical and political, of his native Greece. The nature and results of his intercourse, real or fabulous, with those learned persons, will supply matter for further consideration in the sequel. Travels.

From Egypt he sailed to Cyprus, where he was hospitably received and entertained by Philocyprus[3], a prince of the island, who was indebted to his guest for various useful suggestions as to the better government of his own territory. In commemoration of these benefits and of the legislator's visit, the capital city of the district, when removed by Solon's advice

[1] Plut. in vit. xxv.
[2] Plut. in vit. xxvi. sqq.; conf. Herodot. i. xxix.
[3] Plut. in vit. xxvi.; conf. Herodot. v. cxiii.

to a better situation, is said to have been named Soloi. The distinguished traveller afterwards passed into Asia Minor and visited Sardis, the Lydian capital, where, if Herodotus may be trusted, he met with an honourable reception from Crœsus, the last and most celebrated sovereign of the Lydian monarchy. The narrative of this visit, familiar as it is to every classical reader, as one of the most popular episodes in the work of the most popular Greek historian [1], can yet hardly with propriety be omitted in a chapter of literary history devoted to the life and character of Solon:

Interview with Crœsus.

Narrative of Herodotus.

"After several days of hospitable entertainment, the king, conducting his guest through the palace, and displaying its accumulated treasures, asked him, nothing doubting of the reply, whether, in the course of his long and varied experience of life, he had ever met with so fortunate a man as the possessor of these vast riches. To this question Solon, more studious of truth than flattery, answered in the affirmative, mentioning the name of Tellus the Athenian. On being asked in what respect he considered this man's lot preferable to that of the Lydian monarch, he replied, 'that Tellus was blessed with a family of noble children, all of whom he lived to see parents of an equally excellent progeny; that in the midst of this domestic happiness he had, in a battle between the Athenians and Eleusinians, after putting the enemy to flight by his valour, met his death in the moment of victory.' Crœsus then inquired of him, whom, after Tellus, he considered the most fortunate, trusting confidently to obtain at least the second place; but he was again disappointed. The next in the philosopher's list were 'Cleobis and Biton, two noble youths of Argos, not less distinguished for the virtues of their mind than for their athletic powers. On occasion of the feast of Juno, the oxen failing to arrive from the country, they yoked themselves to their mother's car, and drew her a distance of forty-five stadia to the sanctuary. While the assembled Argives extolled the Herculean strength and filial piety of their young fellow-countrymen, the grateful mother besought the gods to reward them with the choicest

[1] Herodot. I. xxx.

blessing they had to bestow. Her desire was speedily fulfilled. Her sons, after participating in the sacrifice and feast, lay down side by side in the temple to repose from their toil, and, falling asleep, never again awoke. The Argives esteeming them among the most excellent of their citizens, dedicated statues to their honour in the Delphic sanctuary.'

"At this the king, much mortified, asked 'if no place whatever was to be allotted to himself, by the side of these private citizens, in the scale of human happiness.' Solon replied, 'that he was no doubt at that moment a wealthy and flourishing monarch; but that to confer on him or any other mortal the title of Happy would be premature, before his claim to it had been ratified by a death corresponding to the previous prosperity of his life; that, in the vicissitudes of human existence, the brightest sunshine of youth and manhood was often but a prelude to a cloudy and calamitous old age.' These remarks at the time did but excite the contempt of Crœsus for the folly of the man who was thus unfitted to appreciate present good by morbid anticipations of future evil. But, when, not long after, the Lydian monarchy was subdued by the Persians, and Crœsus himself became the prisoner of Cyrus, the warning of the Athenian sage recurring to his recollection proved the means of delivering him from a cruel death prepared for him by his conqueror."

The sequel of the story, however, belongs not to the history of Solon but to that of Crœsus.

The details of this pleasing and impressive narrative, though closely interwoven with the conviction of the Hellenic public, savour greatly, it must be admitted, of that superstructure of didactic embellishment which, in the popular Greek tradition even of historical ages, is often apt to be reared on a comparatively slender basis of fact. The very appositeness of the contrast, so eloquently drawn by the historian, between Greek republican simplicity and Oriental pomp, between the calm philosophic foresight of the European sage and the vainglorious self-sufficiency of the Eastern despot, might tend to

awaken suspicion as to the historical value of the details, at least, of the narrative. But the whole account, even of the legislator's visit to Sardis, has been further impugned, and with some force, upon chronological grounds. According to the well authenticated order of succession in the Lydian royal family, the death of Alyattes, father of Crœsus, with the latter monarch's accession to the throne, did not take place until 560 B.C., the year of the usurpation of Pisistratus. This latter event, however, is equally well ascertained to have been posterior to the philosopher's return from his travels, and resettlement in Athens after his voluntary expatriation. Crœsus, consequently, could not have been the reigning sovereign of Lydia at the epoch assigned by Herodotus to Solon's visit to the court of Sardis. It has been attempted to evade this difficulty, and save the credit of the historian, by assuming Crœsus to have been associated with his father in the government at an earlier period, to which the narrative of Herodotus may refer. This apology, however, at the best somewhat far-fetched, is precluded by the tenor of the historian's own text. Alyattes is there plainly represented as already dead; and Crœsus, not only as reigning in an independant capacity long after the death of his father, but as having, in the interval between that event and the philosopher's visit, had time to achieve the conquest of the greater part of Asia Minor. Any attempt, therefore, to adjust the narrative of Herodotus to the chronology of the period were fruitless. There appear but two modes of upholding the truth of the substantial facts of the story, both involving a sacrifice of the historian's credit in regard to its particulars. The first would

be, to adopt the version transmitted by Diogenes Laertius[1], which connects Solon's visit to Lydia with a second retirement from Athens, after the failure of his efforts to counteract the schemes or overthrow the usurped dominion of Pisistratus. The other hypothesis would be, that Solon really had been the guest of Crœsus during the lifetime of that prince's father, but that Herodotus, in deference to the popular tradition, or following the dictates of his own taste, had worked up the anecdote into the form best suited to his object of contrasting with each other the genius of the two men, and of the state of society which they respectively represent.[2] It is probable that Solon, on his first visit to Asia, may have formed the acquaintance with Mimnermus which led to the poetical correspondence between them adverted to in a previous section.

Return to Athens. Death.

6. During the absence of their legislator, the levity of the Athenians broke through all the restraints which his wisdom or authority had imposed on their factious spirit, and the strife among the parties of the Mountain, the Plain, and the Shore soon raged with its former virulence.[3] His return took place when the disturbance was at its height, and all his influence was exerted, though vainly, to promote an accommodation. He succeeded, however, in penetrating, though not in counteracting, the insidious design formed by his own cousin and friend, Pisistratus, leader of the democratic party, to con-

[1] In vit. Sol. 50.

[2] Plutarch (in vit. XXVIII.) enlarges here, as in some other similar cases, the element of fable, by the introduction of Æsop, as the court wit of the Lydian king, reproving the philosopher for the morose unmannerly boorishness of his demeanour towards royalty.

[3] Plut. in vit. XXIX. sq.

vert the political restlessness of his countrymen into the instrument of his own aggrandisement, and of the overthrow of their liberties. Solon left no means unemployed to divert him from his mischievous purpose, whether by friendly expostulation or open opposition. Even after the establishment of the "Tyranny" he continued to protest against it, and to endeavour, by arguments, entreaties, and reproaches, to rouse his countrymen to a sense of their degradation. They, on their side, unable either to meet his remonstrances or to justify their own conduct, had recourse to their favourite expedient in such emergencies, of giving the affair a burlesque turn. They directed against him the stratagem he had formerly employed for their own benefit, and pronounced the enthusiasm of his opposing eloquence to be a return of his old Salaminian fit of insanity.[1] At length, when no hope remained of restoring the constitution, collecting his arms, he deposited them in the vestibule of his house, towards the street, as a symbol that he had not given up the cause of liberty until utterly desperate.[2] In the sequel, according to the more accredited accounts, unable to prevent the evil, he did his best to mitigate it. With this view, during the short remainder of his life, which closed, according to the more authentic accounts, but a few years after the establishment of the "Tyranny," he adopted a conciliatory line of conduct towards the usurper.[3] Pisistratus, on his part, who possessed every quality which can adorn the Attic citizen but that of disinterested regard for republican liberty, willingly renewed, upon this

[1] Diog. in vit. 49.; frg. XVII.
[2] Plut. in vit. XXX.; Ælian. V. H. VIII. XVI. [3] Plut. in vit. XXXII.

footing, the antient friendly relations with his distinguished kinsman, and cooperated with him in enforcing and improving the new system of legislation in all points not immediately interfering with his own usurped power.[1] Other less valid authorities represent the legislator, on the overthrow of the republic, as again retiring from Athens, and settling at the court of Crœsus. Some describe him as returning to Cyprus, and ending his days as the guest of his former host, Philocyprus.[2] Diogenes[3], on the authority of Aristotle and of Cratinus the comic poet, relates that his ashes, in terms of his own testamentary injunction, were conveyed to Salamis, and scattered over the surface of that island, around which so many glorious associations of his early life were concentrated. This tradition, however, is ridiculed, in a somewhat flippant tone, by Plutarch[4]; and Ælian[5] describes the philosopher as buried at Athens, near the wall of the city, on the right hand of one of the principal gates.

Private character.

The character of Solon appears in a more unexceptionable light as contemplated in his political than in his private and social relations. In his public conduct, disinterested patriotism, military prowess, and honesty of purpose appear combined with deep knowledge of human nature, penetrating judgement, and conciliatory temper. In his social life, the dignity of the philosopher and statesman was sullied[6] by habits of sensual indulgence, inclusive even of certain of the more scandalous vices which disgraced his age and country, but his propen-

[1] Plut. in vit. xxxi.
[2] V. H. viii xvi.
[3] Loc. cit.
[4] Diog. Laert. in vit. 62.; Suid. v. Σόλων.
[4] In vit xxxii.
[6] Plut. in vit. i. alibi.

sity to which he seems himself to have considered as an honourable trait of his character rather than as a ground of reproach. This latter inference is warranted, not only by the remains of his lighter compositions[1], where a taste for degrading sensualities is very plainly, or even coarsely, expressed, but by certain provisions of his code[2] regarding the class of persons to whom, or the circumstances under which, a participation in such excesses was to be conceded. In one of his epigrams he couples these less honourable sources of gratification with athletic exercises, horsemanship, the chase, and the rites of hospitality.

Solon was never married[3], and seems in no way to have appreciated the value of domestic life. Even in his old age he describes Bacchus and Venus as the best coadjutors of the Muses in mitigating the cares,

[1] Frg. II. sqq.

[2] Plut. in vit. I. There can be no reasonable doubt that the expression *νόμος*, used by Plato in his Symposium with reference to the Attic Pæderastia (p. 182. sqq., and especially p. 196 c.), and which has been loosely interpreted by the commentators "custom or usage," really applies to a law of the state, probably of Solon. The expression in the latter passage, *οἱ πολέως βασιλῆς νόμοι*, imitated from Pindar's *νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεύς*, can never have referred to a mere popular custom too common all over Greece to deserve notice of so pointed a nature in connexion with Athens. Additional details of this strange chapter of Solon's legislation are given by other authorities: *ὁ δὲ Σόλων ἐν τοῖς νόμοις καὶ πόσους πήχεις ἀπέχοντα ἀκυλουθεῖν δεῖ τὸν ἐραστὴν τῷ ἐρωμένῳ διεῖλωκε, καὶ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα τετήρηκε, κ.τ.λ.* Anon. ap. Bach. p. 13. It is also remarkable, that throughout the poetry of Solon, among his numerous allusions to the sensual pleasures of life, there is not one to inter-sexual love. The attempts of Plato (De Legg. VIII. p. 839.), Plutarch, and others, to explain away the more licentious tendencies of the legislator, as mere ebullitions of the fervour of his youthful passions, are completely set aside by an extant passage of his own poems (frg. II.) descriptive of the favourite occupations of his old age.

[3] Plutarch's story (VI.) of the trick played by Thales on the legislator, in which a son of the latter is made to take part, is evidently a fable. It is given by Plutarch, accordingly, on the very appropriate authority of a certain Patæcus, who boasted that his body contained the soul of Æsop.

or soothing the privations, with which the decline of life was attended. The genius of this remarkable man may thus, both in its excellence and in its defects, be considered as a type of that of his race. The virtue of the Athenian citizen neither was, nor as among their Spartan neighbours affected to be, exempt from the weakness of the man; and firmness, prudence, and integrity in the business of life were often combined with even a vicious susceptibility of its enjoyments.

The merits of Solon as an encourager of literature are chiefly concentrated around his regulations for the more orderly recital of the Homeric poems in the public festivities.[1] He has also the credit of having interpolated verse 558. of the Catalogue of the Iliad, in support of the claims of Athens to the possession of Salamis. That the story of his opposition to the dramatic entertainments of Thespis is a fable, is sufficiently clear even upon chronological grounds. The first introduction of those entertainments into Athens (535 B.C.) took place twenty years after the death of Solon.[2] The fabulousness of the story is further proved by its absurdity, as narrated by the popular authorities. Plutarch makes the philosopher inveigh, in a highly poetical strain of rhetoric, against the immoral tendency of exhibitions which represented falsehoods in the disguise of truth; as if there was any greater falsehood in the mythical adventures acted by Thespis than in many of those "rhapsodised" under Solon's

[1] See Vol. I. p. 204.

[2] The author has observed with some surprise, that both in Grote's History of Greece (vol. III. p. 194.), and in the article Solon of Smith's Dict. of Biogr., this very palpable fable has been allowed a place among the ascertained historical facts of Solon's life.

own auspices.[1] Diogenes[2] goes still further, and asserts that Solon attributed the success of the plot of Pisistratus against the liberties of the state to the lessons of intrigue which the usurper had learnt from the exhibitions of the Thespian stage.

Works. Gnomic school of poetry.

7. The collective works of Solon comprise, in the summary of the popular grammarians[3], Laws, Orations, Reflexions or Commentaries on his own affairs, Elegies, the Salaminian ode, Reflexions or Commentaries on the Athenian state in five thousand verses, Iambic pieces, and Epodes. The Orations comprised in the above list, if assumed to be, in the stricter sense of the term, specimens of prose oratory, were probably spurious, as are doubtless the epistolary compositions given by Diogenes as extracts from the philosopher's private correspondence. The poetical works forming the remainder of the catalogue appear from the above description, as well as from the portions of them still extant, to have been almost exclusively of the ethic or didactic order. Solon is, in fact, the earliest known author who can properly be classed under the title of "gnomic" poet. The term Gnomic appears to have been originally invented, as it was exclusively employed, to denote a school of elegiac poetry, the object of which was to inculcate moral doctrines rather than express mental emotions; to enforce maxims of worldly wisdom in their more immediate bearings on objects of special interest to the author or his public. The characteristic, consequently, of the "gnomic" style was a sententious gravity, savouring often more of philo-

[1] Plut. in vit. xxix.; conf. Sol. frg. 28. Bergk, where Solon himself admits the falsehood of this latter class of mythical authorities.

[2] Diog. in vit. 60.

[3] Diog. in vit. 62.

sophy than poetry. It is true that, by reference to this definition, portions of the works of various preceding poets, of Archilochus, for example, or Tyrtæus, might rank as gnomic. There is, however, this distinction between the cases, that, in the poems of those authors, the purely ethic or didactic element is not only comparatively limited, but altogether subordinate to the general scope and tendency of their muse; in Tyrtæus, for example, to martial and political enthusiasm; in Archilochus, to satire and sarcasm. The elegies of Solon, Xenophanes, Theognis, on the other hand, are for the most part essentially of the gnomic order, while all may be said to partake more or less of the same character.

The spread of this style of composition in the age of Solon connects itself with the rise of what may also be called the gnomic School of philosophy; if it be permitted to apply so dignified a title to so primitive a fraternity, whose doctrines consisted chiefly of desultory maxims or moral precepts in prose and verse. The more remarkable members of this school are familiarly known by the title of the "Seven Sages." Among these Solon himself was the most distinguished; the others were in great part, like himself, persons versed in the business of public life; several of them, also like him, political leaders. This school, therefore, as comprising Thales, the earliest professional mathematician of whom Greece can boast, might, in contradistinction to the mystical or cabalistic school represented by Epimenides and Pythagoras, claim with some propriety the title of first practical school of Greek philosophy. Amid the still slender popularity of prose composition, the masters of the latter school were naturally led, in

order to secure attention or permanence to their doctrines, to embody them in a poetical, chiefly an elegiac form.

Critical estimate of Solon's genius and works.

8. It results in some degree from what has been said, that, while there is no style of Greek poetry more closely connected than the gnomic with the interests of real life, there is none which, if it does not altogether exclude, so little implies or requires in its cultivators, any fervid glow of poetical inspiration or lively play of fancy. Nor can Solon be said to form an exception to this rule. It would indeed be doing him injustice, to deny that he was a poet by nature as well as by art or study; and had his lot been cast in other times, in another station of life, or under other circumstances, the power of native inspiration might have shown itself more extensively and under more genial forms in his productions. In his Salaminian ode [1], accordingly, dictated as it was by a powerful impulse of patriotic enthusiasm, his elegiac style appears, even from the few preserved lines, to have risen much above its usual height, towards the level of Tyrtæus or Simonides. His other compositions also contain some spirited and original passages. But, as a general rule, the poet is absorbed in the philosopher and statesman; and the intrinsic value of his collective works consists rather in their intellectual than in their imaginative attributes; in just and striking sentiments, correctness of expression and versification; in the qualities proper as much perhaps, or more, to elegant prose than to genial poetry. It may also be owing to the comparatively limited range afforded by the gnomic style to individuality of poetical character,

[1] Frg. xvi.

that so frequent a correspondence, or even sameness, is observable in passages of Solon, Mimnermus, Theognis, and other poets of the same order; and hence that the texts belonging to these different poets have been so frequently confounded with each other in their citation by the antient commentators. There can, indeed, be little doubt, as has been observed in a former page, that there existed, from the days of Callinus and Tyrtæus downwards, in the elegiac school of composition, especially in its gnomic element, as in the old epic minstrelsy, a certain ingredient of poetical commonplace, extending from individual phrases and expressions even to entire sentences, and to the doctrines or illustrations which they embody.[1]

It seems doubtful whether any poem of Solon has been transmitted entire, with the exception, it may be, of the short elegy descriptive of the septennial periods of human life[2]; but several of the longer extant passages, as illustrative of the genius of their author, possess, in their existing integrity of subject and style, a value equal or little inferior to that of entire compositions. The whole number of extant verses is about two hundred and seventy-five. Of these upwards of two hundred are in elegiac measure; between thirty and forty are iambic trimeters. Of the remainder, sixteen are trochaïc tetrameters; five alone are in purely melic style. The two hexameter verses which make up the sum total of the collection

[1] Conf. Bergk. Poett. lyrr. nott. ad Mimnerm. frgg. v. VII., nott. ad Solon. frg. XII. 65. sqq. 71. sqq. frgg. XV. XVI.; Bach. ad Callin. frg. I. 15., ad Tyrtæum, frg. VI. 8. 29. 31., ad frg. VIII. 1. sqq. 27. 39. alibi.

[2] The arguments urged by Porson against the genuine character of this elegy have been well met by Bach, p. 14. sqq.

are of questionable authenticity. They are cited by Plutarch in reference to a tradition of which he himself appears to make but little account, that Solon had originally intended to draw up his code in a metrical form; and of this legislative poem they profess to be the exordium.[1]

The longest passage of the collection[2], comprising seventy-six elegiac verses in essentially gnomic style, may be considered as a fair and favourable sample of the general character of Solon's poetry. It contains a summary of his views relative to the tenor of his life and conduct, forming evidently a portion of his "Reflexions on his own affairs." The doctrines inculcated are sound, often original and striking; are expressed with a vigour and terseness sometimes bordering on abruptness, and are illustrated by some spirited imagery. He comments, in equally emphatic but less querulous terms than Mimnermus, on the ephemeral nature of human enjoyments; dwells on the blessings of a clear conscience and a contented mind; condemning the insatiable thirst of mortals for the possession of a happiness beyond their reach, and their wayward caprice in its pursuit. Riches acquired with the favour of the gods are pronounced a blessing, but ill-gotten wealth a curse, to the possessor. The whole is pervaded by a deep tone of religious feeling, by an humble sense of the dependance of earthly destiny on the divine will, and by a pious recognition of the often slow, but always sure, course of heaven's retributive justice. His description of Ate, as the figurative personification of the penal or vindictive agency of divine retribution, is borrowed from Ho-

[1] Plut. in vit. III. [2] Frg. V.

mer[1]; and various other passages show his familiarity with the Iliad and Odyssey, and the influence of Homer's philosophy on his own theory of moral sentiments.

Another bulky text, or series of texts[2], of a more strictly political tendency, composed, it would appear, about or shortly prior to the epoch of his legislative undertaking, describes, in the same elegiac measure, and in equally spirited language, the evils which led his fellow-countrymen to resort to his healing interposition. He dwells on "the usurpations and impieties of "the rich and noble, the cruel oppression and degrada- "tion of the poor, and the consequent wretched state "of the whole community. But he expresses a firm "reliance on the power and will of the protecting "deities of the republic to put an end to these cala- "mities, were the citizens but willing to cooperate in "providing the only sure remedy, orderly govern- "ment and equitable laws." Several of these passages offer a near resemblance to parallel portions of the Eunomia of Tyrtæus, on which work this entire composition of Solon appears to have been modelled.

Of the Salaminian ode, the most remarkable of all Solon's productions, but eight elegiac verses are extant, in a spirited vein of patriotic enthusiasm. He protests "that he would rather be a denizen of the most "contemptible community in Greece than a citizen "of Athens, to be pointed at as one of those Attic das- "tards who had so basely relinquished their right to "Salamis." In several of the shorter pieces allusion is made to the less prosperous events of his political

[1] Frg. v. 13. sqq., 75. sqq.; conf. Il. IX. 505., XIX. 92.

[2] Frgg. XV. XXVIII.

career, to the intrigues and usurpation of Pisistratus, and to the servile submission of his fellow-citizens to the despotic sway. The following lines are a fair specimen of his mode of availing himself of the popular vein of poetical imagery, in giving effect to his ethic commentaries:

ἐκ νεφέλης φέρεται χιόνος μένος ἠὲ χαλάζης,
Βροντὴ δ' ἐκ λαμπρᾶς γίγνεται ἀστεροπῆς.
ἐξ ἀνέμων δὲ θάλασσα ταράσσεται· ἦν δέ τις αὐτὴν
μὴ κινῇ, πάντων ἐστὶ δικαιοτάτη.
ἀνδρῶν δ' ἐκ μεγάλων πόλις ὄλλυται· εἰς δὲ μονάρχου
δῆμος ἄϊδρις ἐὼν δουλοσύνην ἔπεσε. . . . .
εἰ δὲ πεπόνθατε δεινὰ δι' ὑμετέρην κακότητα,
μή τι θεοῖς τούτων μοῖραν ἐπαμφέρετε·
αὐτοὶ γὰρ τούτους ηὐξήσατε, ῥύσια δόντες,
καὶ διὰ ταῦτα κακὴν ἔσχετε δουλοσύνην. . . .

As wintry skies bring storms of sleet and hail;
As from the lurid cloud forked lightnings play;
As the sea rages when rude winds assail,
Though calm by nature on a tranquil day;
So man's ambition with destructive feud
This state hath torn, its equal laws o'erthrown,
And driven at last the brainless multitude
To fly for refuge to the tyrant's throne. . . .
And will ye now, by stern oppression tried,
The gods as partners of your guilt invoke?
Ye, who yourselves the despot's rod supplied,
And bowed your backs submissive to his stroke.[1] . . . .

In other passages[2] he dwells with honest pride on the purity of his public conduct; on the value of the institutions bestowed by him on a country so little able to appreciate them; on his own disinterested patriotism in abstaining from grasping or perma-

[1] Frgg. xviii. xix. Gaisf. [2] Frgg. xx. xxi. xxvii. xxviii.

nently wielding the royal sceptre which his fellow-citizens had placed within his reach; and on their ungenerous requital of his public-spirited conduct.[1] There are also various sonnets or epigrams addressed to friends, in familiar epistolary form. In one he takes leave of the Cyprian prince by whom he had been hospitably entertained on his travels.[2] A second[3] is to his own nephew Critias, ancestor of another Critias illustrious as a favourite disciple of Socrates, infamous from having, in his capacity of one of the worst and cruelest of the "Thirty tyrants," participated in the murder of his old friend and master. A third, addressed to Mimnermus, has already been noticed. The single short fragment of the melic order inculcates caution against a too ready confidence in professing friends or favourable appearances. It has been supposed, perhaps with reason, to have been part of a scolion or convivial catch. The measure is the Stesichorean mixture of dactyl and trochee; the language in a strain of florid and somewhat far-fetched imagery Solon's poetical dialect is the same elegant modification of the old Homeric common to the Ionian elegiac poets of the previous generation. His poems, those, it may be presumed, of the more strictly national or patriotic order, were recited in Plato's time by the Athenian youth on public or festive occasions.[4]

Poem and legend of Atlantis.

9. Plato, in his usual indirect mode, by the mouth of his fellow-disciple Critias, partly in the dialogue which takes its title from the same Critias, partly in

[1] Frgg. XIX. XXVI. [2] Frg. XXIII. [3] Frg. XXXII.

[4] Plato, Tim. p. 21. Of Solon's epodes no trace remains; nor perhaps is the authority of Diogenes, by whom alone they are mentioned, a sufficient guarantee of their genuine character.

the preceding dialogue of Timæus, describes Solon as having, in the latter years of his life, undertaken the composition of a great epic poem entitled the "Atlantis," recording, in elaborate detail, the glories of Athens in the age prior to the flood of Deucalion. The completion of the work, it is further stated, was prevented by the death of the author. The whole account of this poem, of its supposed contents, and of the circumstances which led to its composition, is so strange and problematical, as to have given rise to much speculation among commentators, both as to the actual existence of any such poem, and as to the degree in which Plato himself on the one hand, or his spokesman Critias on the other, is to be held responsible for the authenticity of the notices concerning it. For the better understanding of the whole bearings of the question, it will be proper to subjoin an abstract of the legend of the Atlantis, as embodied in the two treatises above referred to:[1]

Solon, when in Egypt, visited, among other remarkable places, the city of Saïs, the seat of the chief sanctuary of the goddess Neit, whom the Athenians called Athena. The priests of the temple, in conversation with their guest, proudly contrasted the antiquity and permanence of Egyptian civilisation with the recency and instability of that of Greece; boasting that they possessed the records of human affairs extending in regular succession over a period of nine thousand years, and amongst other chronicles those of the antient republic of Athens as it existed before the flood of Deucalion. From this disaster Egypt had been preserved by the favour of its climate, where rain is unknown. At each successive return of such calamitous inundations, described by the same authorities as taking place periodically, the civilised communities of other parts of the earth, with their written registers, are swept away. The barbarous mountaineers alone survive, who are thus, when the waters subside, under the necessity of commencing the process

[1] Critias, p. 108. sqq.; Timæus, p. 20. sqq.

of improvement anew upon the plains. In Egypt alone the race of men, with the succession of chronicles, is carried on in uninterrupted order.

The primeval Athens, both as to its city and its territory, was far superior in extent to the existing republic. The city was also much stronger, the soil more fertile, than in the postdiluvian period. The earth was in those days divided into two great political systems or confederacies, one of which comprised all Asia, with the eastern regions of Europe and Libya. Of this confederacy, Athens was the state most distinguished for the excellence of its institutions, and for the talents and bravery of its citizens. It was also the most antient seat of the goddess Athena, and preferred by that deity to all other regions. From this her original sanctuary the worship of Pallas had been carried over to Saïs, where it was preserved during the deluge, and reimported into Athens when the city was rebuilt after that catastrophe. The other division of the then habitable world formed one vast empire, the metropolis of which was in a great island called Atlantis, in the Western Ocean, beyond the Pillars of Hercules; an island surpassing in extent the whole eastern portion of the earth above described, and inhabited by a race infinite in numbers, and spreading over the adjacent continent of Libya as far as Egypt, and of Europe as far as the Adriatic. In their earlier and better days the Atlantides fell little short of their Attic rivals in the virtues of the warrior and citizen. In course of time, however, wealth and luxury generated ambition and pride; and, under the influence of these fatal passions, they undertook a mighty expedition for the conquest of the rival confederacy. Such was the terror inspired by their power and resources, that all the eastern states, with the single exception of Attica, shrunk from the contest. The Athenians alone, partially supported by their Hellenic kinsmen, stood forward in the common defence, and, after enduring numberless hardships, succeeded in totally defeating their overbearing enemy. Before, however, they had time to follow up their victory, or restore order to the distracted affairs of their own confederacy, the great flood of Deucalion supervened, by which the island and race of Atlantis were swept off the face of the globe, and the Greeks themselves were exterminated, with the exception of a few pastor tribes on the loftiest mountain regions, ancestors of the subsequent race of Hellenes.

Such were the materials of the great epopee de-

scribed by Critias the ostensible narrator of the tradition, on the authority of his grandfather the friend and cousin of the legislator, as having been undertaken by Solon, and a portion of which, in the manuscript of the author, the same Critias asserted to be still extant in his own possession.

Its origin and import.

10. It may be presumed, that no one competently versed in the comparative mythology of the two nations can believe that any such legend as the above was ever seriously narrated by an Egyptian priest to a Greek philosopher. That the Egyptians, whose great boast was the superior antiquity of their gods, their race, and their civilisation, should, under the semblance of such a mere shadow of this proud privilege, so completely abandon its substance, is incredible. Little more likely is it, even had they been willing to relinquish the palm of antediluvian splendour in favour of any other race, that they would have handed it over to one whose existence was scarcely known to them a century before Solon's time, to one whom they still considered as but a petty mushroom tribe of barbarians, inhabiting a distant barren rock on the rugged shores of the north, and acknowledging themselves indebted to Egypt herself for whatever advance they had been able to make in the arts of civilised life. Above all incredible is it, that Egyptian antiquaries would have represented their own country, under her antient glorious dynasty of gods or heroes, as skulking from a contest with an enemy whom a neighbour and ally boldly engaged and defeated single-handed; and as indebted for her own preservation to the valour of that neighbour whom she had so basely deserted in the hour of need. Nor is there a whisper of any tradition

remotely resembling the Atlantis in the more authentic standards of Egyptian mythology. The legend, even in its geographical and maritime details, clearly betrays a Hellenic, or rather, perhaps, a Græco-Phœnician origin. It appears, indeed, to connect itself very palpably with the Homeric fable concerning Calypso, the daughter of Atlas, and her island in the far west. The name of this fairy "Atlantid" goddess, signifying literally "hidden," "covered over," bears a palpable reference to the mysterious disappearance of the Atlantid island in the legend; and the other Homeric and Hesiodic tradition of the Elysian plains, or Islands of the Blessed, in the same western ocean, is probably but a variety of the same fable. The Egyptians may possibly, in the time of Solon, have had some knowledge of this chapter of Greek mythology, and may have alluded to it in their conversations with the philosopher; but that they should ever have embodied it in the form of the Platonic Atlantis cannot for a moment be admitted.

Two other explanations present themselves: first, that Solon, either with or without a hint on the part of his reputed Egyptian authorities, had really proposed working up the Atlantid legend of the Homeric age into an elaborate epic poem of the didactic order, and that his unfulfilled idea had been taken up by Plato. The other alternative would be, that the whole narrative, both as regards the composition of the poem and the conversation of Solon with the priests, is a mere invention of Plato [1], who avails him-

[1] It seems strange that so intelligent a critic as Bach (Sol. Carm. p. 48. sq.) should have allowed his judgement on this point to be influenced by a fastidious tenderness for Plato's character for truthfulness. He indignantly pronounces that philosopher incapable of such "impudent

self of Solon and the Saïtic hierarchy, as he does elsewhere of his own contemporaries, as organs for inculcating his philosophical doctrines, through one of those brilliant allegories in which he so greatly delighted.

Its purely allegorical character.

11. The latter view is in every respect the more probable. The whole narrative, while repugnant to all that is known of the genius of Solon, bears broadly the stamp of that of Plato. Even were it necessary to recognise in that narrative a small basis of original matter derived from Solon or from Egypt, the style of the superstructure sufficiently vouches for an identity between the hand which reared and that which describes the entire fabric. The obviously allegorical tendency of the fiction supplies in itself conclusive argument in favour of this opinion. The symbolic mode of conveying instruction was as foreign to the taste of Solon as congenial to that of Plato. Nowhere is there any appearance of an approach to that mode on the part of the former; no trace even of one of those

mendacity" as would be implied by any such explanation of the Atlantid story as that proposed in the text. It is to be feared that this mode of vindicating Plato's veracity would be subversive of all hitherto received rules of Platonic criticism. We should, upon this new principle, be bound to believe that Critias, Timæus, Socrates, and all the other companions of the philosopher, actually uttered to the letter, and in good faith and sober earnest, all the statements or opinions which Plato puts into their mouths. It would be necessary to believe, for example, not only that Socrates, in a conversation with his pupils, had really promulgated the visionary theory of a Republic which Plato attributes to him, but that the constitution of that republic also turned out, as Critias says, "by a miraculous coincidence," to be an exact counterpart of that which the Egyptian priests had described to Solon as really existing in an antediluvian Athens! Even Professor Bach will hardly carry his advocacy of the philosopher's veracity to this extremity. If, however, Plato be admitted to be mendacious to the extent of putting into the mouths of his own friends and contemporaries words or doctrines which they never uttered, his honour will not be greatly tarnished by his being assumed to have taken the same liberty with Solon and the priests of Saïs.

familiar fables or parables with which his lyric contemporaries were used to season their didactic muse. The authentic notices of his life and conversation, of his interview with Crœsus, for example, exhibit him studious in all cases of the simplest and most direct methods of appealing to the judgement or the sympathies of mankind. But, if the merely allegorical character of the legend forms in itself an obstacle to a literal construction of the narrative of Critias, still stronger is the argument derived from the nature of the allegory employed. What more palpable than that the object of that allegory is to illustrate, in the case of the antediluvian Athenians, the value of republican purity of manners, with its attendant virtues, courage and patriotism; in that of the Atlantidæ, the corrupting influence of wealth and luxury, even on a race endowed by nature with excellent gifts? The sequel of the joint history of the two nations further exemplifies the worthlessness, in warfare, of mere numbers and resources against valour and conduct; and the ability, even of so poor a country as Attica, defended by a hardy population, to baffle the ill-directed energies of a mighty empire. That such a figure should have suggested itself to the Egyptian priesthood seems incredible, on grounds already stated. Little more likely was it to have occurred to Solon, even had he been partial to the allegorical style of illustration. Such lessons of figurative morality can seldom, if ever, suggest themselves to an orator, still less be relished by an audience, apart from a certain bearing on the events and interests of their own times. But there was nothing whatever in the age of Solon to impart either point or interest to the moral of the Atlantic tale. There was much, on the other hand, nay,

every thing, in the age of Plato. The fabulous Atlantid war is, in all its essential features, a type of that between the Persians and Hellenes, in the generation immediately preceding the philosopher. Of that war the Athenians, then in the acme of their moral and political vigour, bore the brunt. After having been, like their fabulous antediluvian ancestors, abandoned in a great measure by the neighbours who possessed a common interest in repelling the invader, and after having been also like those ancestors reduced to the last extremity, they became both at Salamis and Platæa, as previously at Marathon, like them also the bulwark of Greece against the hostile armament. The vicissitudes of the Atlantid power shadow forth in a similar manner those of the Median empire; an empire distinguished under the primitive Persian dynasty by its military and political virtues, but rapidly involved in defeat and humiliation, when led by pride and confidence in its overgrowth to seek still further aggrandisement at the expense of another and a better race of men.

If the Atlantid fable, in the more extended form in which Plato exhibits it in the "Timæus" and "Critias," be admitted to be a fiction of later origin, probably of Plato himself, the inference must be fatal to the belief of an Atlantid poem having ever been projected by Solon. That no such belief existed in Athens prior to the composition of these two dialogues their own contents abundantly prove. Critias, in whose mouth the story is placed, introduces it plainly as something new, or not hitherto familiar to Socrates and the rest of his supposed audience.[1] This Plato could not with any propriety have made him do, had there been a previously current rumour on the subject.

[1] Tim. p. 21.

The very citation by Critias [1] of the legislator's original manuscript of the poem as still in his own possession is subversive of all literal reality in his narrative. Who can believe that such a precious document would, alone among the acknowledged remains of its supposed author's genius, have hitherto lain, unknown to or neglected by the Athenian public, on the shelves of a private library? or, still worse, would, even after this open announcement of its existence, have been permitted to remain and perish in its previous obscurity? The motive assigned by Critias, in the treatise bearing his name, for introducing the subject, that namely of illustrating the "miraculous coincidence" [2] which he had observed between the theoretical Republic of the previous Dialogue and the constitution of the antediluvian Athens, must in itself be conclusive proof in every reasonable quarter that the whole story is but a grand specimen of Plato's didactic allegory. The introductory remarks of Critias, in which he characterises his own narrative as "sounding indeed strange, or even absurd, but as nevertheless quite true," [3] is itself in a tone of jocose apology for the extravagance of his fiction, plainly enough implying that he was far from expecting that any portion of his audience would be so simple as to suppose he was relating facts. No less conclusive to the same effect are the pains he takes to inform his audience that, at the time when this elaborate poetico-political romance was recited to him by his grandfather, then ninety years of age, he was himself but ten years old; and yet,

[1] Crit. p. 113 A. [2] δαιμονίως ἔκ τινος τύχης. Tim. p. 25 E.

[3] Tim. p. 20 D. λόγον ἐκ παλαιᾶς ἀκοῆς ... μάλα μὲν ἄτοπον, παντάπασί γε μὴν ἀληθῆ.

he adds, every syllable of the old man's lecture, which, if ever delivered, must have been unintelligible to a child of that age, had made such an indelible impression on him, as to justify his assuring Socrates, and the company whom he addressed, that his own Atlantic dissertation was in all essential particulars a faithful representative of the original discourse of his ancestor.[1]

THE SEVEN SAGES.

Seven Sages.

12. Among the contemporaries of Solon distinguished for a certain proficiency in the gnomic style of poetry, the more remarkable, as already observed, belonged to the celebrated fraternity commonly entitled the Seven Sages, of which fraternity Solon himself was the chief ornament. A share in this honourable title was claimed, as is well known, by a greater number of sages than seven, according as one might be omitted, or another included, in the various popular catalogues.[2] It happens, however, that the list of those to whom the honour has been awarded on the best authority comprises the names of all such as are reported to have cultivated polite letters, or to have transmitted specimens of poetical

[1] Tim. p. 21 B.

[2] Plato (Protag. p. 343.) gives the following list: Thales, Pittacus, Bias, Solon, Cleobulus, Myson, Chilon. Myson is also admitted by Eudoxus (ap. Diog. in vit. Thal.), in preference to Cleobulus. Periander, excluded by Plato, is admitted by Aristotle (ap. Diog. Laert. in vit. Per. 99.), by Plutarch (Conv. Sept. Sap.), by Clemens Alexand. (Strom. I. p. 299.), and by Diogenes Laertius (in vita). Some restricted the seven to five (Plut. de EI, p. 385.); others even to four, viz. Thales, Bias, Pittacus, and Solon (Dicæarch. ap. Diog. in vit. Thal. 41.); others admitted an indefinite number (Diog. loc. cit.; conf. Procem. 13.; Clint. Fast. Hell. ad an. 586).

composition. The Seven, as thus constituted, are Solon, Thales, Pittacus, Periander, Cleobulus, Chilo, and Bias.[1] As these remarkable personages are all more celebrated in their capacity of philosophers or statesmen than in that of poets, and as the remains of their reputed compositions are but scanty, or of doubtful authenticity, their names may scarcely seem entitled to a place in this department of literary history. In addition, however, to the claims founded on their own poetical performances, the circumstance that all or most of them exercised a certain influence on the general progress of literature in their day would, in itself, here entitle their lives and labours to a reasonable share of notice. The only case which will be excepted is that of Thales, whose connexion with elegant literature is so doubtful, or so slight, and his distinction as a philosopher, or even as the patriarch and fountain-head of Greek physical science, so great, as to bring his life and influence exclusively within the limits of the purely scientific department of Hellenic culture.

The next three in the list, Pittacus, Periander, and Cleobulus, combined with their character of sages or poets that of distinguished political chiefs.

PITTACUS[2] (645—569 B.C.),

Pittacus.

Son of Hyrrhadius of Mitylene, was an early contemporary of Solon, his death having taken place in the LIIIrd Olympiad (569 B.C.), at the age of upwards

[1] The names, as will be seen by reference to the dates appended to them in the sequel, have here been arranged with reference rather to the celebrity of the men, than to the strict chronological order of their lives.

[2] Conf. Diog. Laert. in vit.; supra, Ch. v. p .258. sqq.; Plehn. Lesbiaca, p. 87. sqq.; Welck. Alcæus, Klein. Schr. vol. I. p. 126.

of seventy, and about ten years prior to the death of the Attic legislator.[1] He was, in all respects, one of the most admirable characters of his age, devoting his whole time and talents, which seem to have been of a high order, to the service of his country and his fellow-citizens. During the earlier part of his life he was engaged in resisting the alternate attempts of the extreme aristocratical and extreme popular factions to subvert the liberties of his native community. After many hard struggles, ending in the defeat and banishment of his leading opponents, he was, as the only apparent guarantee of the permanence of that good government which he had for the present secured, himself elected dictator by the unanimous suffrages of his better-disposed fellow-citizens.[2] At the close of a ten years' unblemished exercise of his trust, during which, by a new code of laws, and by a general course of wise administration, he had placed the republican institutions of the state upon a safe footing, he voluntarily abdicated his power, and passed the remainder of his life in retirement. His celebrated saying, "How hard a thing it "is to be a truly honest man!" honoured with copious commentaries by Simonides and Plato[3], has been supposed, with reason, to refer to the temptations to which his monarchal sway exposed his virtue; temptations the power of which was similarly felt and resisted by his Athenian fellow-sage.

No less honourable to his character than the patriotic zeal with which he pursued the enemies of

[1] Diog. Laert. in vit. 79.; Suid. v. Πιττακός; conf. Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. I. p. 237.

[2] Aristot. Polit. III. 10.; conf. II. 10.; Strab. XIII. p. 617.; Diog. Laert. in vit. 74. sqq.; Plut. Amat. p. 763.

[3] Bergk, Fragm. Simon. 8.; Plat. Protag. p. 339. sqq., conf. De Legg. p. 979.

public tranquillity was his generous treatment of them when reduced to submission. An example of this generosity has above been cited in his conduct towards the poet Alcæus. Nor was he less distinguished as a warrior than as a statesman; and the device by which, in a great battle between the Mitylenæans and the rival Attic colonists of Sigeüm, he slew, in single combat, the hostile commander, by casting a net over him in the moment of collision, is celebrated in the annals of military stratagem.[1] If the satirical muse of Alcæus may be trusted, Pittacus was less fitted to adorn the throne, to which his countrymen raised him, by his courtly manners, or the agreeable qualities of his person, than by the virtues of his mind. The scoffing allusions of the satirical poet to his slovenly attire, and the lowness of his social habits, or the epithets of boaster, splay-foot, and others equally coarse, with which Alcæus assailed him[2], cannot indeed, as proceeding from an embittered political opponent, be taken by the letter. Yet a certain rustic simplicity of manners seems to transpire in the accounts of the domestic unhappiness occasioned him by the pride and violent temper of his wife[3], a lady of noble rank, with whom he had been imprudently induced to form an alliance. Hyrrhadius, the father of Pittacus, is said to have been a Thracian by birth[4], naturalised in Mitylene by marriage with the daughter of a Lesbian citizen. Pittacus was thus, by the mother's side, entitled to the full rights of citizenship in his native republic. His foreign blood, however, his early

[1] Plut. de Herod. Malig. p. 858.; Strab. xiii. p. 600.; Polyæn. Strateg. i. xxi.; Diog. in vit. Pitt. 74.

[2] Diog. Laert. op. cit. 81.; Alcæi Fragm. 30. Schneidewin; Plut. Symposiac. viii. p. 726.

[3] Diog. in vit. 81.

[4] Diog. Laert. in vit. 74.; Suid. v. Πιττακός.

and steady opposition to the aristocratical party in the state, and the epithet of "base-born" applied to him by Alcæus, render it probable that he belonged originally to the lower order of Mitylenæan freemen. His wife, on the other hand, is described as daughter of a noble citizen named Penthilus, and was hence, probably, of the old royal blood of Mitylene, in which that name was hereditary. Her own manners, indeed, would seem, in spite of her noble lineage, to have partaken, if Plutarch [1] may be trusted, but little of the proverbial refinement of Lesbian social life. That author describes her on one occasion, when her husband was entertaining a select circle of friends, as entering the room in a passion and upsetting the table and its equipage, to the great astonishment and consternation of the party.

The only extant specimen of the muse of Pittacus is a stanza of one of those short convivial ditties embodying popular ethic maxims, and habitually sung by the guests on handing round the cup. It inculcates the necessity of being on our guard against fair words proceeding from a foul tongue.[2] Pittacus is said to have left six hundred elegiac verses, of the same gnomic character as the parallel compositions of Solon, and certain legislative writings in prose[3]; but no remains of these works have been preserved. The maxims of moral wisdom attributed to him by his biographers illustrate, in a very happy manner, the more amiable features of his character and conduct. He pronounced "the greatest blessing which "a man can enjoy to be the power of doing good:" that "the most sagacious man was he who foresaw "the approach of misfortune; the bravest man, he

[1] De Anim. Tranq. [2] Diog. in vit. 78. [3] Diog. in vit. 79.

"who knew how to bear it:" that "victory should "never be stained by blood:" and that "pardon was "often a more effectual check on crime than punish- "ment."[1]

13. PERIANDER (665—585 B.C.),

"Tyrant" of Corinth, if less worthy of admiration in his moral and political relations than Pittacus, is more celebrated as a promoter of elegant literature. Although branded by the popular stigma as one of the most iniquitous of those usurpers of republican rights who, about this time, arose in many of the Greek states, he is, perhaps, the one whose adherents had most to offer in palliation, or even in justification, of his offence. His authority, such as it was, had descended to him by hereditary title, and the rule of his father Cypselus had, in the first instance, been established by the suppression of an oligarchy, which, while equally an encroachment on old constitutional privilege, had proved far less conducive to the prosperity of the state than the single dominion of the Cypselidæ. The dictatorship of Cypselus seems, indeed, like that of Pittacus, to have been voluntarily conferred on him by the citizens as a remedy for democratic or oligarchal tyranny, and, like that of the Lesbian patriot, was mildly exercised, though not so generously laid down. Periander.

The sway of Periander, on the other hand, though prudent and politic, appears, whether from natural temperament, from fear of the constitutional party which he had to keep down, or from the evil example of other petty despots, the daughter of one of whom he had married, to have been really despotic and

[1] Diog. in vit.

severe, though not, certainly, to the extravagant excess described in the popular accounts. His more arbitrary measures, as being chiefly directed against the pretensions of the upper class, seem also, as frequently happens in similar cases, to have been but little obnoxious to the strictly democratic order of citizens. An illustration of this Macchiavellian line of policy, and of the wary caution with which it was exercised, occurs in the well-known anecdote of the advice tendered by him to his fellow-tyrant, Thrasybulus of Miletus.[1] Thrasybulus had written to ask his counsel as to the best mode of securing permanence to his own despotic government. Periander returned no answer in writing, but desired the messenger to follow him into a corn-field, where he occupied himself for some time with his staff, in whipping off the ears from the tallest stalks of corn. He then bade the messenger return, and report to his employer how he had been received at Corinth. This anecdote is more familiar, probably, to most readers, in the shape in which it has been transferred, like so many others, from the early history of Greece to the political mythology of Rome, where Tarquin and his poppy-heads take the place of Periander and his ears of corn. There is, however, no trace of the policy inculcated in the allegory having ever been carried, by Periander himself, to any cruel excess, or beyond the mere humiliation of the more powerful Corinthian nobles. Among all the extravagant accounts of his other imputed enormities, there is no

[1] Aristot. Polit. III. ix. (viii.), v. i. Herodotus (v. xcii. 6.) reverses the case, ascribing to Periander the application for advice, and to Thrasybulus the allegorical reply. The authority of Aristotle is, however, to be preferred, as the narrative of Herodotus is here tinged throughout by a spirit of fable, if not of prejudice.

notice of any leading Corinthian citizen having been put to death by him. Had such acts of bloodshed been on record, Aristotle would never have limited his notice of the tyrant's treatment of those citizens to his repression of the undue magnificence of their establishments, or to a prohibition of their residing within the walls of the city.[1]

Nor, probably, were these more defective points of his character without a beneficial influence on the progress of those elegant pursuits of which he was so munificent a patron, with the view, among other motives, as Aristotle[2] remarks, of diverting the attention of his subjects from the affairs of government. It seems, indeed, certain, that the establishment of the so-called "tyrannies" in many of the principal Greek states about this time, in Corinth, Sicyon, Miletus, Epidaurus, Lindus, Megara, and, at a somewhat later epoch, in Athens and Samos, not only coincided with, but contributed to, a rapid advancement of science and letters. All or most of these petty despots appear to have combined a taste for such pursuits with the ample means for its gratification which their usurped power, and its for the most part arbitrary exercise, placed at their disposal. Their influence and habits had also a tendency to break up the more fastidious individuality of local Greek character. A freer course was opened to the traffic of social and civilised life in the different states of Hellas, both with each other

[1] Aristot. Polit. v. xi.

[2] Apud Diog. Laert. 98.; conf. Heracl. Polit. v. Schneid. ad loc. The character of Periander, it may be remarked, appears, in the sketches given of it by Aristotle, under features very different from those under which it has been represented in the evidently overdrawn portrait of it by Herodotus. But of this more hereafter, in the chapter devoted to Herodotus himself and his authority as a historian.

and with the great neighbouring monarchies. It was the obvious interest of the Greek political usurpers to maintain friendly relations, not only among themselves, but with foreign powers; and the result was a more extended cultivation of those branches of elegant art and science in which the Oriental nations were still in advance of the Greeks. Special notice occurs of such confidential intercourse carried on by Periander with Alyattes, king of Lydia, and with his own fellow-tyrants of Miletus, Epidaurus, and Arcadia.[1] His munificent encouragement of foreign artists has already been illustrated in the life of the Lesbian Arion, by whom, under Periander's immediate patronage, the most brilliant order of Greek lyric ceremonial, parent of the Attic drama, was matured and carried to perfection.

The reign of Periander lasted upwards of forty years.[2] He died in the last year of the XLVIIIth Olympiad (B.C. 585). The epoch of his birth is not recorded, but he is said to have reached the age of eighty. The works assigned him, besides some evidently spurious epistles, were two thousand verses of "commentaries,"[3] moral and political, similar to those which occupied the leisure of Solon, and of other poets of the same practical turn of genius. Of these compositions, however, admitting their genuine character, no remains have been preserved.

His personal character.

14. Of the personal character of the Corinthian tyrant it is difficult to form any just estimate from the conflicting accounts promulgated in later times. Had he not enjoyed an extraordinary credit in his

[1] Diog. in vit. 95.; conf. Müller. Dor. vol. I. p. 167. (I. viii.)

[2] Aristot. Polit. v. xii.; Diog. 98.; conf. Clint. F. H. vol. I. p. 230. 214.

[3] *ὑποθῆκαι.* Diog. 97.

own day for equity and judgement, where his individual passions or interests did not interfere, he would hardly have been numbered, and that on the high authority of Aristotle, among the Seven Wise Men. Still more conclusive in favour of his real claim to the virtues of integrity and impartiality at least, is the fact, transmitted on testimony beyond the reach of all suspicion, that he was chosen as arbiter to settle the terms of peace between the republics of Athens and Mitylene, and that, by his award, the virulent warfare in which the two states had so long been engaged was brought to a close.[1] It may safely be asserted, not only that two powerful independant communities would never have mutually agreed to select, for so momentous and delicate a duty, any man who was in the smallest degree open to the charge of unprincipled conduct or profligate habits, but that they never would have selected for such a duty any one who was not preeminent among his contemporaries for qualities of a totally opposite description. Yet the same Herodotus who records this fact, followed by other authorities of inferior note, gives Periander credit for acts of wanton injustice and savage brutality, disgraceful to the character, not merely of sage, but of human being.[2] The very extravagance of many of these stories, and the contradictory mode in which they are narrated in different quarters, go far indeed to stamp them as exaggerations or calumnies, reflecting the natural bitterness of spirit with which the Greeks, in the subsequent more prosperous ages

[1] Herodot. v. xcv.; Aristot. Rhet. i. xvi. (xv.); Strab. xiv. p. 600.

[2] Conf. note 2. to p. 383.

of republican liberty, looked back on the class of rulers to which Periander belonged.

According to these accounts, he lived, in early youth, in incest with his mother[1]; and, in later life, killed his wife Melissa[2], as some reported, by kicking her on the body when pregnant; in other accounts, he beat out her brains with a footstool. To this outrage he is said to have been instigated by the slanderous insinuations of some of his own concubines, whom, when afterwards convicted of falsehood, he burnt alive.[3] Herodotus describes his treatment of Melissa's body after death as still more monstrous than his mode of dispatching her.[4] The same historian states, that, in order to do honour to her memory, he invited the most distinguished ladies of Corinth to a solemn festival; and, assembling them in the sanctuary of Juno, stripped them of their holiday dresses and jewels, which he offered as a burnt sacrifice to the manes of Melissa.[5] Ephorus, on the other hand, described the same outrage as having been perpetrated, not for the purpose of this pious holocaust, but for that of converting the plundered gold ornaments into a statue which the tyrant had vowed to Jupiter.[6]

[1] Parthenius, in his romance, exculpates him from wilful guilt in respect to this crime, by making him the unconscious victim of his mother's unnatural passion. (Amat. Affect. XVII.) Plutarch (Conv. S. Sap. p. 146 D.) and other authors seem to acquiesce in this account. (Aristipp. ap. Diog. Laert. 96.)

[2] Herod. III. l. Her original name is said to have been Lysidè; that of Melissa, or "The Bee," was a term of endearment conferred on her by her husband, in recognition, it may be presumed, either of the sweetness of her temper, or of her industry and exemplary habits, to which all authorities bear testimony. Diog. vit. Per. 94.; conf. Athen. XIII. 589.

[3] Diog. 94.

[4] v. xcii. 7.

[5] Herodot. loc. cit.; conf. Ephor. ap. Diog. 96.

[6] Diog. 96.; conf. Herod. III. xlviii.; Diog. 95.; Plut. de Mal. Herod. p. 859.

The most marvellous story of all is the stratagem by which he secured concealment for the place of his interment. He is said to have ordered two of his trusty attendants to proceed after dusk along the road leading from the gate of the city into the country; to kill the first man they met, and bury his body secretly by the way side; to treat the second and third in the same manner; and so on up to a certain number. One of the first victims was the author of the scheme. So absurdly incredible a tale suffices in itself to create reasonable doubts as to the existence of any broader basis of fact even in the other less wildly improbable traditions of the same stamp. Whatever his own personal habits may have been, authorities are agreed as to the fact of his having proved a rigid enforcer of law and civil discipline among the citizens over whom he held sway[1]; and, if the flourishing condition of a country may be taken as any just test of the wisdom and good government of its ruler, Periander, judged by this standard, would be entitled to the highest rank among early Greek statesmen and legislators. Corinth, under his sway, was not only one of the most powerful, but apparently by far the wealthiest, most industrious, and most commercial community of European Greece.[2] The city possessed harbours on each side of the Isthmus; and the customs and port dues are said to have sufficed to defray the whole expenditure both of the sovereign and the state, without direct taxation of any kind. The flourishing colonies of Apollonia, Anactoria, and others in Acarnania and on the neigh-

[1] Heracl. Polit. v.; conf. Schneidewin. ad loc.; Athen. x. p. 443.

[2] Herod. III. 52.; Heracl. Polit. v.; conf. Schneidewin. ad loc.; Suid. vv. Περίανδρος et Κυψελίδων ἀνάθημα.

bouring coasts, are also described as established or extended by Periander.[1]

Numerous moral apophthegms are recorded of him in his character of Sage; some of which are curiously at variance with the darker shades of his popular portrait. He pronounced it to be "the duty "of a wise governor to prevent, rather than punish, "crime; that democracy was a preferable form of "government to monarchy; and that the best per- "sonal security of a sovereign was, not a body-guard, "but the affections of his citizens." When asked: Why then maintain his own "tyranny?" he replied: "Because to abdicate would be equivalent to an act "of self-destruction." This latter doctrine is illustrated by that which Plutarch[2] places in the mouth of Solon. That legislator, when prompted by his friends to usurp permanently the supreme power, replied that "Tyranny might be a fair country, but that there was no way out of it." In other pithy maxims, Periander inculcated probity, moderation, circumspection, and condemned avarice, treachery, and incontinence.

15. CLEOBULUS (586 B.C.),[3]

Cleobulus. Son of Evagoras, was "tyrant" of Lindus, in the isle of Rhodes[4], and was, like Periander, denied by some authorities any just right to a place in the list of Sages, as having been indebted for that honour not so much to his own merits as to the fears or flattery of his

[1] Plut. de Ser. Num. vind. p. 552.; conf. Thuc. i. 26.
[2] In vit. Sol. xiv.
[3] Clint. F. H. ad an. 586 B.C.
[4] Duris (ap. Diog. in vit. Cleob. init.) called him a Carian.

subjects.[1] This imputation, however, is here the less plausible, that, while the Corinthian sage really enjoyed celebrity as a powerful and oppressive monarch, Cleobulus is indebted for the few notices transmitted of him chiefly to his reputation for wisdom. In his capacity of "tyrant" but little is known concerning him, and the tenor of that little would imply that he was a mild and beneficent ruler. His principal extant biographer does not even allude to his sovereign power, while his epitaph, as cited by the same authority, dwells on the affection entertained for him by his fellow-citizens.[2] His epoch is marked merely by the facts of his having been contemporary with his fellow-sages, and of his having lived upwards of seventy years. He was distinguished not merely for his mental qualities, but for the strength and beauty of his person.[3] His compositions are characterised as songs or lyric pieces, epigrams, and poetical riddles or charades, extending in all to three thousand verses.[4] The collection was, for the most part, it may be supposed, of the same didactic tendency as other productions of the early gnomic school. The few lines of the purely lyric order which have been preserved[5] are directed against ignorance and idle-speaking. They are in enigmatical style, and in a somewhat indefinite species of iambic or trochaïc measure. The remains of his poetical riddles are in hexameters. The inscription on the tomb of Midas[6], which superficial critics ascribed to Homer, was not only quoted as a work of Cleobulus by his younger contemporary Simonides, but made, as such, the subject of a somewhat captious

[1] Plut. de EI, p. 385. [2] Diog. Laert. in vit. 93.
[3] Suid. v. Κλεόβουλος; Diog. in vit. 89. [4] Diog. loc. cit.
[5] Ap. Diog. 61. [6] Ap. Diog. in vit. 89. It is also cited by Plato.

commentary by that poet. The epitaph itself is here subjoined:

χαλκῆ παρθένος εἰμί, Μίδου δ' ἐπὶ σήματι κεῖμαι,
ἔστ' ἂν ὕδωρ τε ῥέῃ καὶ δένδρεα μακρὰ τεθήλῃ,
ἠέλιός τ' ἀνιὼν λάμπῃ λαμπρά τε σελήνη,
καὶ ποταμοί γε ῥέῳσιν ἀνακλύζῃ δὲ θάλασσα,
αὐτοῦ τῇδε μένουσα πολυκλαύστῳ ἐπὶ τύμβῳ
ἀγγελέω παριοῦσι Μίδας ὅτι τῇδε τέθαπται.

A maid of bronze am I, and here will stand
On Midas' tomb, as long as on the strand
The sea shall beat; as long as trees shall grow,
Sun rise, moon shine, or liquid waters flow;
So long by this sad tomb I'll watch, and cry,
Midas lies here! to every passer by.

Simonides ridicules the extravagance of the assertion contained in these lines, that the bronze figure on the monument "was destined to endure as long as the terrestrial globe itself." Taken in its literal sense, such an assertion were, no doubt, sufficiently inept. That Cleobulus, however, meant seriously to maintain any such extravagance can hardly be supposed. The epigram is evidently one of those poetical conundrums to which the Lindian sage was partial; and the interpretation of which would require an insight into the circumstances of its composition which does not seem to have been possessed by Simonides, and can hardly therefore be within the reach of any modern Œdipus. Cleobulus is described by Columella[1] as a distinguished promoter of agriculture. Among other pithy maxims of moral or ethic wisdom, he taught that "a man should never leave his dwelling without considering well what he was about to

[1] Lib. I. c. 1.

"do, or reenter it without reflecting on what he had "done;" and that "it was folly in a husband either "to fondle or reprove his wife in company."[1]

The reputation of Eumetis, daughter of Cleobulus, surnamed after himself Cleobuline, was little inferior to that of her father, both for wisdom and virtue, and for poetical talent, especially in the composition of metrical enigmas. Among the riddles ascribed to her was that very elegant one on the subdivisions of the year[2], which some authorities claimed for her father. Another, on the operation of cupping, is praised by Aristotle and Plutarch.[3]

The composition of such epigrammatic riddles appears to have been, from an early period, a favourite occupation of the Greek literary ladies. That this exercise of intellectual subtlety was not untainted, in later times at least, with a certain affectation or pedantry, may be presumed from its having become a popular subject of satire with the Attic dramatists, in comedies, of several of which Cleobuline was the heroine.[4] Sappho was also, as we have already seen, lampooned in the same quarters, on the same account; though, judging from her extant remains, with less reason than her Lindian fellow-poetess. Cleobuline is celebrated for the primitive simplicity and purity of her manners, and for her zealous exercise of the rites of hospitality.[5] Plutarch calls her a Corinthian, possibly from her having married and settled in Corinth.[6]

[1] Diog. in vit. 92. [2] Diog. vit. Cleob. 91.; Suid. v. Κλεοβουλίνη.
[3] Arist. Rhet. III. ii.; Plut. Conv. Sept. Sap. p. 154.
[4] Meineke, Fragm. Comm. Græc. vol. I. p. 277., II. p. 67. sqq., IV. p. 427. sqq.
[5] Clem. Alex. Str. IV. p. 523.; Plut. Conv. Sept. Sap. p. 148.
[6] Locc. citt.; conf. De Pyth. Orac. p. 401.

16. CHILO (596 B.C.)[1]

Chilo.

Of Lacedæmon, son of Demarmenus, was, like his Dorian fellow-sages of Corinth and Lindus, distinguished in the political as well as the scientific world, having filled the office of Ephorus in his native republic.[2] Nor was he altogether unconnected with royalty, his daughter having married the celebrated Spartan king Demaratus[3], who betrayed his country to the Persian monarch. The epoch of his entry upon office is placed in the LVth or LVIth Olympiad, when he was already far advanced in years. Nearly half a century prior to that date he had distinguished himself as an expounder of the divine will, while sacrificing at Olympia along with Hippocrates, father of the usurper Pisistratus, by interpreting an omen vouchsafed on that occasion, and portending the dangerous character of his fellow-worshipper's future offspring.[4] He also, in a spirit of political foresight rather than of religious prophecy, forewarned his countrymen of the danger to which, in their foreign wars, they might be exposed from the vicinity of the isle of Cythera to their coast.[5]

His most celebrated maxim was that inculcating moderation: μηδὲν ἄγαν, "nothing in excess." When asked what were the three most difficult things in a man's life, he replied: "To keep a secret, to forgive "injuries, and to make a profitable use of leisure "time."[6]

His death is said to have taken place at Olympia,

[1] Conf. Clin. F. H. ad an. 596. 586.
[2] Aristot. Rhet. II. xxiv.; Diog. in vit. Chil. 68.
[3] Herod. VI. lxv.
[4] Herod. I. lix.; conf. Diog. loc. cit.
[5] Herod. VII. ccxxxv.
[6] Diog. in vit. 69.; conf. Gell. I. iii.

from the combined effects of old age and of joy, when embracing a son who had been declared victor in the games.[1] The single extant remnant of his lyric composition[2], comprising six lines in Stesichorean measure, and marked by elegance both of expression and sentiment, inculcates that, "as the purity of "gold is proved by the touchstone, so gold itself is the "test by which the good or evil in human character "is brought to light.". Of his two hundred elegiac verses, also mentioned by his biographers[3], no remains have been preserved.

BIAS (585—540 B.C.),[4]

Bias. Son of Teutamus, of Priene in Ionia, is celebrated exclusively as Sage. While his character receives neither lustre nor tarnish from political rank or power, he has not only the honour of belonging to the select four[5] whose claim to be numbered among the Seven was undisputed, but seems, in regard to the strictly ethic or moral attributes of his order, to have enjoyed the highest reputation of the whole fraternity.[6] Though not a professional statesman, he was enabled by his natural penetration, in several emergencies, to render important public services to his countrymen.

The date of his birth has not been recorded. He survived, however, all his fellow-sages, Solon by nearly twenty years, being still alive at the epoch of the conquest of his native Ionia by the Persians

[1] Diog. in vit. 72.; Plin. H. N. VII. 32. (54.). [2] Diog. 71.
[3] Diog. in vit. init. [4] Clint. ad an. 586 B.C. 569 B.C.
[5] Diog. Laert. in vit. Thal. 41.
[6] Satyr. ap. Diog. in vit. Biantis, 82.; Heracl. ap. Diog. 88.

(540 B.C.). He seems, consequently, to have been the youngest of the Seven. In the Panionian assembly of the confederate states, held in reference to the national calamity above mentioned, he was the author of a suggestion greatly commended by Herodotus.[1] He proposed to his fellow-countrymen that they should emigrate in a body to the island of Sardinia, and there found a single commonwealth, as the only means of insuring the joint blessings of constitutional liberty, unity among themselves, and security against foreign aggression.

The practical benefit of his sententious wisdom was also exemplified[2] in the argument by which, when a guest of Crœsus, king of Lydia, he dissuaded that ambitious monarch from a project equally pregnant with mischief to Lydians and Hellenes. Crœsus, sovereign of a great inland monarchy, was, about the period of the philosopher's visit, fitting out a fleet for the reduction of the Greek insular republics on the Asiatic coast. On his inquiring of his guest what news he brought from Ionia, the philosopher answered, that the islanders were preparing a great force of cavalry, with the intention of marching upon Sardis. At this intelligence the king expressed great delight, in the prospect of an easy victory over such inexperienced horsemen. "And do you not think," rejoined Bias, "that the Ionian mariners look forward "with equal satisfaction to their victory over your "navy of Lydian landsmen?"[3]

Bias was distinguished for his talent of forensic

[1] III. clxx. [2] Herod. I. xxvii.

[3] This story was told by some of Pittacus (Herod. loc. cit.). But Pittacus died before the accession of Crœsus to the Lydian throne.

pleading[1], and is celebrated on this account by his younger contemporary, the poet Hipponax. His death is said to have taken place in court, while resting his head on the bosom of a young grandson after a powerful address, at the moment when the decision was pronouncing in favour of his client.[2] His fellow-citizens, in testimony of their esteem, decreed him a sumptuous funeral and monument at the public expense.[3]

The poetical works attributed to Bias were two thousand lines upon the means of restoring prosperity to the Ionian republics.[4] The single existing remnant of his muse consists of a convivial stanza of three verses, inculcating the wisdom of adapting our habits to those of the place or people among whom it is our lot to reside. Of his sententious prose lessons the following are specimens[5]: "The most unfortunate of all men he pronounced to be the man who "knows not how to bear misfortune:" that "it was "better for a man to act as arbiter in a dispute between two of his enemies than between two of his "friends; for in the former case his decision would "be sure to gain him a new friend, in the latter to "create him a new enemy:" that "a man should be "slow in making up his mind, but swift in executing "his decisions."

Another, on first view less generous, but perhaps, if rightly understood, not less sound and valuable, doctrine inculcated by him was, "that a man should "temper his love for his friends by the reflexion that

[1] Strabo, p. 636.; Diog. in vit. 84.; Hipponax ap. Diog. et Strab. locc. citt.

[2] Diog. loc. cit. [3] Diog. 85. [4] Diog. loc. cit. [5] Diog. 86 sqq.

"they might some day become his enemies, and mode-
"rate his hatred of his enemies by the reflexion that
"they might some day become his friends."[1]

When overtaken by a storm on a voyage with a dissolute crew, and overhearing them offer up prayers for their safety, he advised them rather "to be silent, "lest the gods should discover that they were at "sea."

[1] Aristot. Rhet. II. xv. xxii.; conf. Cic. de Amic. xvi.

CHAP. VII.

EARLY HISTORY OF WRITING IN GREECE.

PART I. MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS.

1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS. CADMEAN TRADITION. ITS HISTORICAL IMPORT. — 2. RULES FOR THE GUIDANCE OF MODERN RESEARCH. NUMBER AND PECULIAR CHARACTER OF THE EARLY GREEK INSCRIBED MONUMENTS. — 3. CHANCES OF THEIR PRESERVATION. — 4. COMPARATIVE NEGLECT OF BLACK-LETTER PURSUIT IN GREECE. SUPPOSED LITERARY FRAUDS. RUDENESS OF THE PRIMITIVE ALPHABET. — 5. NOTICES OF EARLY INSCRIBED MONUMENTS. EPITAPHS. LEGISLATIVE TABLES. — 6. VOTIVE MONUMENTS IN THE NATIONAL SANCTUARIES. PAUSANIAS. — 7. OLYMPIA. DISK OF IPHITUS. "TREASURIES." CHEST OF CYPSELUS. — 8. OTHER MONUMENTS AT OLYMPIA AND ELSEWHERE. — 9. EARLY GREEK ARCHIVES. — 10. MONUMENTS OF THE ANTE-DORIAN ÆRA. TRIPODS OF THE ISMENIAN SANCTUARY. — 11. OTHER CADMEAN MONUMENTS.

PART II. WRITING FOR LITERARY PURPOSES.

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PART. I. MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS.

Introductory remarks.

1. THE early history of the art of writing in Greece has, in the course of the more searching investigations to which it has of late years been subjected, usually been treated in immediate connexion with the history of the Homeric poems. This arrangement was natural, perhaps even in some degree necessary, in the more elementary stage of the joint inquiry, in so far as the former branch of that inquiry naturally concentrated itself around the most antient accredited

remains of literary composition. But the turn given to the whole subject, by the subsequent treatment of its Homeric element, has tended greatly to obstruct the sound course of critical research. The question concerning the origin and early use of alphabetic writing thus became in a manner circumscribed within the narrow limits of certain speculative theories as to the state of Homeric criticism in the days of the Pisistratidæ, to the exclusion of all more enlarged views of the facts or authorities essentially bearing on the actual progress of literary culture in Greece. It has been shown, in the course of the foregoing narrative, that the interval between the age of Pisistratus and that of the original composition of the Homeric poems comprehends one of the most brilliant periods of Greek literature; a period abounding, as Cicero has remarked, with authors, many of whose names are still the most illustrious in their various branches of composition; names not representing doubtful or semifabulous personalities, but poets and musicians of well-attested historical existence, profoundly skilled in the subtlest technical refinements of their respective arts. Every intelligent reader must perceive how essential a careful and comprehensive previous survey of this first strictly historical age of literature must be to any just estimate of the progress of an art without which no such organised system of literary culture could possibly exist. But, in the process hitherto pursued, this whole period is virtually overlooked, or, at the most, appealed to for the sake of a few incidental illustrations. A different method has here, therefore, been preferred. A general view of the extent and mode in which the intellectual powers of the Hellenes, during this youthful and genial

period of their literature, were displayed, has been considered indispensable to a right estimate of the technical aids requisite for the developement or exercise of those powers.

Cadmean tradition.

That the Hellenes were indebted for their first knowledge of the art of writing to the Phœnicians is a tradition of the historical value of which we have proof, altogether distinct from its own antiquity or universality, in the characters of the Greek alphabet. The evidence which the names, forms, and arrangement of those characters afford of their Oriental origin has already been considered.[1] In regard to the period at which a knowledge of them was first communicated to the Greeks we are left, as on other points of earliest Hellenic culture, altogether dependant on mythical sources. There are, however, few national legends which, on the twofold ground of internal probability and the inveterate conviction of the enlightened native public in its favour, can advance stronger claims to the character of historical fact, than that which ascribes the introduction of the alphabet to the Oriental colonies figured, in the name and person of the hero Cadmus, as having settled in Greece, chiefly in Bœotia, at an early mythical period. This legend is at least broadly distinguished by the above-mentioned more solid characteristics from various other traditions of mere local or poetical origin, invented in honour of certain heroes or tribes, and according to which there is scarcely a Greek patriarchal chief celebrated for ingenuity in the elementary sciences, to whom the discovery of this essentially Phœnician art has not been attributed: such are Prometheus, Orpheus, Musæus, Linus, Chiron, Palamedes. There is one point, however, on which

[1] Vol. I. p. 78. sqq.

all these traditions, to whatever extent they may differ on other points, are unanimous. They all agree in tracing the first knowledge of writing in Greece to a remote mythical æra.

The Cadmean legend, in any more critical estimate of its bearings on the history of the art, must be viewed in a more extended light than that in which it is usually contemplated, as limited to a single Sidonian colonist in Bœotia. Cadmus is a term of palpably Phœnician origin, signifying Eastern or "Man of the East;" just as Norman, in our own heroic age, which here, in other respects, offers various points of parallel, signifies "Man of the North." Accordingly, in almost every part of the Hellenic world where notice exists of early Phœnician influence, that influence is found connected more or less directly with "Cadmean" enterprise. Either Cadmus himself, on his voyage to Greece, is described as leaving a detachment of his followers on the coast, or a colony of his descendants is reported to have subsequently settled on it. Such are the traditions of Cadmean settlement in Thasos, Thera, Rhodes, Samothrace, Lesbos.[1] Nor can the old Milesian variety of the legend, which, as mentioned in a former page, assigned the first introduction of the alphabet to Danaüs[2], be held as militating against the spirit of the genuine Cadmean tradition; Danaüs and Cadmus being in the Milesian account represented as kinsmen and fellow-fugitives, both of Phœnician race, who simultaneously sought an asylum in Hellas. The Peloponnesian associations of the early Ionian school of antiquaries would natu-

[1] Herodot. IV. cxlvii.; Pausan. III. i. 7.; Diod. v. lviii.; conf. Bochart. Geogr. Sacr. pp. 366. 385. 394. 424. sq. When "Cadmus" is described (Boch. op. cit. p. 467.) as founding a hundred cities in Africa, the figurative import of the term becomes still more palpable. See Appendix G.

[2] Vol. I. p. 76. note.

rally lead them to prefer the claims of the Argive to those of the Bœotian settler.

Historical authority, therefore, in so far as represented by an inveterate national conviction, extending, as may be proved by existing passages of contemporary authors, back into the seventh century B. C., is unanimous in ascribing the introduction of the art of writing into Greece to her purely mythical age. Nor is it easy to understand how, in the face of this fact, room should have been found in any reasonable quarter for the lately popular theory, which would assign the first knowledge of the same art in that country to the period subsequent to the settlement of the Ionian colonies, and its first familiar use to the age of the Pisistratidæ, or the latter part of the sixth century B. C. It seems incredible that the Greek literary public, in the generation immediately after Pisistratus, should have ascribed a remote mythical origin to a practice which could hardly be traced beyond the time of their own immediate ancestors. Still more wonderful would it be that Stesichorus, who flourished about half a century prior to the Athenian usurper, should have attributed, as he did in his Orestia[1], to Palamedes, a hero of the Trojan war, the introduction into Greece of an art which was scarcely practised in that country by the grandchildren of Stesichorus himself.

The arguments to which weight has chiefly been attached in favour of the proposed reduction of the age of writing in Greece are, first, the absence of well accredited written monuments in sufficient numbers, or of so great antiquity, as to justify the belief

[1] Dionys. Thr. ap. Beck. Anecd. Gr. p. 783. 786.; conf. Klein. Fragm. Stesich. XXXVIII.; Franz. Elem. Epigr. Gr. p. 12. sqq.

of any familiar use of letters prior to the age of Pisistratus; secondly, the rudeness of the form, of the material, and of the alphabetic characters of those earlier dedications; thirdly, the silence of the more antient Greek literary compositions, especially the Iliad and Odyssey, on the subject of writing, and the internal evidence which their text supplies of ignorance of the art on the part of their authors; fourthly, the extensive prevalence of the practice of rhapsodism, or memorial recitation, as a substitute for writing.[1]

In the treatment of this question a twofold distinction has usually been drawn: first, between the epoch of the earliest knowledge of the alphabet in Greece and the epoch of its more familiar use; secondly, between its employment in inscriptions on wood, stone, or metal, and its adaptation to literary purposes, properly so called, on pliable material.[2]

The distinction is in itself well founded, and will be kept in view accordingly in the conduct of the following inquiry; since it is certain, as a general rule, that in every science rude efforts must precede familiar practice, and that the more extensive such practice becomes, the more copious and commodious will be the material for its exercise.

[1] See a concise abstract of these arguments in Müller, Hist. of Gr. Lit. vol. i. p. 37. sqq.

[2] This is, in fact, the order in which the Jewish antiquary Josephus, the keenest and acutest classical opponent of the antiquity of Greek civilisation, and a standard authority with those who, in the present age, have adopted the same views, has, in his tract against Apion (i. 2.), arranged his line of objection. While not actually denying the introduction of letters by Cadmus, he questions the existence of any inscribed monument of the age of the Trojan war. He then quotes the general opinion even of the native Greeks, that no genuine literary work was extant of a date prior to the Homeric poems; which apparent exception in their favour is qualified by a doubt whether even they were committed to writing until some time after their composition.

Rules for the guidance of modern research.

2. A fertile source of error in researches into antient history is the neglect properly to appreciate the different genius of society in different ages of the world, and a consequent readiness to adopt the habits and associations of our own day as criteria for judging those of other nations and times. Hence, where any points of antient manners are distinguished by certain marked features of difference from the parallel habits or usage of our own age, we are apt to account for the apparent anomaly by specific causes of an equally anomalous nature, and are thus led into false or exaggerated conclusions; which a reasonable attention to incidental circumstances peculiar to one or other state of society might have enabled us to avoid. In few questions has a want of such discrimination been more productive of serious misunderstanding than in that relative to the early history of writing in Greece. In order, therefore, to guard in as far as possible against any similar misunderstanding in our own case, it is here proposed, before entering on the details of the inquiry, to establish, in respect to some of its more important heads, certain primary data, or first principles, by reference to which it will be guided.

Number and peculiar character of Greek inscribed monuments.

Among the Greeks, and probably most other antient races who made early advances in civilisation, the oldest preserved specimens of writing transmitted to later posterity were inscriptions on the polished surfaces of stone, wood, or other hard materials. The Greek antiquaries in the time of Herodotus pretended, accordingly, with what reason will be considered hereafter, to show such inscriptions dating prior to the Trojan war; and there can be little doubt that in the days of that historian there were extant engraved

monuments of the ninth or tenth centuries before the Christian æra. But there is no trace of the same curious persons having advanced even a pretension to possess records of any remote antiquity on parchment or other cartaceous material. In our own times the case is exactly the reverse. There are few of the earlier civilised nations of modern Europe but can exhibit numerous documents on parchment or paper, executed at a period of which it would be difficult to discover a single record inscribed on stone or metal. This distinctive feature of the two states of society may be traced to the same source already frequently appealed to in other parts of this history: the fundamental difference in the circumstances under which antient and modern civilisation had their origin. Greek culture advanced from infancy to maturity with the spontaneous developement of the national genius; the culture of modern Europe was for many centuries but a reconstruction from the ruins of a previous state of society. We inherited the art of writing from a people among whom it may be said already to have reached its perfection, together with a plentiful material for its exercise, and with a literature already fully matured and perfected as the guide to our own progress in scientific pursuit. The Greeks, on the other hand, received the same art from a people among whom it had as yet advanced but little beyond its elementary stages; from a people not of literary habits in the more enlarged sense, and among whom its use was confined chiefly to works of necessity. They received it in an age when the supply of convenient material for its practice was comparatively small, and when the benefits to be derived from that practice held out proportionally little in-

ducement to study or exertion. Under such circumstances, the materials to which a newly instructed semibarbarous people would instinctively resort, as combining facility both of execution and preservation for the few works of utility or necessity to which the art would in the first instance be limited, would be wood, stone, and other hard substances. To these, accordingly, the earliest literary efforts of the Greeks may be supposed to have been solely or chiefly confined. But what was once necessity often becomes habit or fashion; and the practice of perpetuating public documents by preference in this form was maintained, or even greatly extended, long after more convenient material for their circulation was abundant. Hence the following curious distinction: in the darkest periods of modern medieval ignorance, when the knowledge of letters was far less extended probably than at any epoch of Grecian history subsequent to the Olympic æra, treaties of peace, charters, and other similar documents were committed to parchment and paper, and a public record of those periods, of any other than a sepulchral character, engraved on stone or any hard substance is a thing of which it were difficult to find an example: in Greece and Rome, on the other hand, even in the palmy days of their literature, when education was the birthright of every citizen, the most important national registers and state diplomas, treaties of peace, laws, fasti consulares, even military lists and muster rolls, were dependant all but exclusively on sculptured tables for their legal publicity. This distinction supplies in itself a sufficient answer to the popular argument against any familiar use of the alphabet in the primitive ages of Greece, which

has been founded on the circumstance of the laws of Draco and Solon, or other similar state registers, having been promulgated on material no way adapted for literary purposes in the wider sense. The peculiarity, if such it be, is one obviously of manners and usage, involving neither capacity nor inability to pursue a different method. Had parchment or papyrus been as plentiful in the age of Solon or Servius as in that of Cicero, those lawgivers would not have the less resorted to wood, metal, or stone, for their public registers; while, had the supply of the lighter material totally failed during our own dark ages, it might be a question whether our semibarbarous ancestors would have been sufficiently zealous scribes to have had recourse to their iron mines or freestone quarries for a substitute.[1]

Their chances of preservation.

3. Thus far concerning the number and character of the earlier specimens of Greek alphabetic writing. Attention must now be directed to their chances of preservation. Inscribed monuments of remote date may, with reference to the present question, be considered under two heads: first, those recorded by

[1] How inveterate this custom remained up to the latest period of classical antiquity appears from the mass of inscriptions preserved in the Vatican, Capitol, and other repositories of antient epigraphy. Among these monuments, besides testaments and other documents which in modern times it never occurred probably to the most eccentric scribe, either before or after the invention of printing, to embody in such a form, are found many (such as muster rolls of soldiers, of whole garrisons or cohorts) destined for mere temporary use. In the fire of the Capitol under Vitellius were destroyed 3000 inscribed tables of brass, which Vespasian (Sueton. in vit. VIII.) replaced from other and probably cartaceous copies of the same deeds preserved elsewhere: "undique investigatis exemplaribus." The more pliable kinds of metal seem also, in the early ages of Greece, to have been occasionally resorted to for the promulgation of literary works of peculiar interest. Paus. IX. XXXI. 3., IV. XXVI. 6.; cf. Nitzsch. Hist. Hom. p. 73. sqq.; Montfauc. Palæogr. Gr. p. 16.

later classical writers as extant in their own days; secondly, those actually preserved to modern times. It may, on a superficial view, appear strange, had the practice of monumental writing been of any remote antiquity in Greece, that not one specimen should yet have been discovered bearing distinct internal evidence of an epoch prior to the Olympic æra. The science of Greek palæography is still, perhaps, in too unsettled a state to admit of any solid argument being grounded either on the age or the authenticity of extant inscriptions. There is also too much reason to believe that those who of late years have chiefly devoted themselves to this branch of research have, in doubtful cases, been disposed rather to make the doctrines of the modern sceptical school a guide to their decisions, than to avail themselves of the results of impartial investigation as a test of those doctrines.[1] But, even admitting the entire deficiency of all written monuments of so remote a date, that deficiency were no proof whatever that many may not have been executed. The farther back we go, it is obvious that both the number of such monuments and the chances of their preservation diminish in an equal ratio. In the infancy of the art of writing, the efforts of its cultivators were not only fewer, but confined chiefly to the more easily wrought, and, by consequence, more perishable materials, such as wood or soft stone, rather than metal or marble. Hence, the more such memo-

[1] Boeckh more especially, whose preliminary dissertation to his Corp. Inscr. Græc. is little more than a piece of able special pleading in favour of the Wolfian theory. The author has been gratified to observe that his learned and ingenious friend Dr. Franz has not been withheld, by his respectful deference to the authority of his own distinguished friend and master, from following a more liberal and impartial course in his valuable work, the Elementa Epigraphices Græcæ, Introd. § IV. De Ætate Scripturæ, p. 30.

rials were exposed to the ravages of time, the less they were qualified to resist them. Let us assume, for the sake of argument, but one thousand inscriptions to have been executed in Greece prior to the Olympic æra, and let us calculate, by the analogy of parallel cases in historical times, what are the chances that a single one of that number should now be extant. Let us take, as a basis of this calculation, the probable number of such documents executed in Attica between the first Olympiad (776 B. C.) and the final settlement of the Attic orthography by Euclides in the XCIVth Olympiad (404 B. C.); those accumulated on edifices public and private, in market-places and thoroughfares, on monuments sacred, civil, sepulchral, or triumphal, during this the most flourishing period of the most civilised and literary commonwealth in Greece. They can scarcely be rated at less than fifty times the number above allowed to all Greece during the remote semibarbarous ages of her art of alphabetic writing. Yet of the extant Attic inscriptions there are not fifty[1]; not one in a thousand, consequently, to which a date prior to Euclides can with any probability be assigned. The chances, then, are infinitely against the transmission to posterity of even a single one of the ante-Olympic thousand. The analogy may be transferred to the primitive stages of modern art. It were probably not easy to find in Great Britain a single inscribed stone or metal monument of the Anglo-Saxon æra.[2] Yet it will not be

[1] See Boeckh, Corp. Inscr. Gr. vol. I. No. LXX. sqq. The utmost number that the author has been able to collect out of the whole twelve classes amounts to about forty-five.

[2] Admitting Pausanias (see infra, § 7. sqq.) to have seen but twenty genuine inscriptions ranging over the three centuries between the middle of the ninth and the middle of the sixth century B. C. (the epoch of Pisistratus), the oldest of them would have dated 1000, the most recent about

denied that writing was familiarly practised in England in the ninth century, and more or less habitually applied by the inhabitants of that country to monumental literature, to sepulchral inscriptions, land marks, and the like. The fallacy of any negative argument founded on the nonexistence of inscriptions of remote date is further apparent from the consideration that the same argument would equally disprove the execution, at the same period, of all works whatever of the class on which it was customary to engrave letters. It were as difficult to produce an uninscribed urn, tripod, or tombstone, which antiquaries would acknowledge coëval with Homer, as one bearing an inscription. Yet no one would question the existence of such monuments in Homer's time, in the face of numberless passages of his poems where they are alluded to as abundant. The mere want of preservation can be no more valid argument in the one case than in the other.

The argument against the antiquity of alphabetic writing, founded[1] on the absence of written legends on the older specimens of Greek coined money, affords another signal instance of the mode in which matters altogether extraneous to this question have been forced into connexion with it. That coinage is itself a practice standing in no necessary relation to literary culture is proved by the case of the Phœnicians and other Asiatic nations, who, although familiar with the art of writing long before the Greeks, are in-

700 years prior to his own time. We question whether the most diligent British antiquary of the present day could produce half as many from the cathedrals and cemeteries of England, ranging between the years 850 and 1150 of our æra. Yet the monuments of Greece had suffered in the time of Pausanias far more frequent and more fatal ravages than any to which those of Britain have yet been subjected.

[1] Müller, Hist. of Gr. Lit. vol. i. p. 38.

debted to the Greeks for that of coinage; and the Egyptians, who wrote after their own fashion some thousand years before the Greeks, appear never to have had any coined money. The primary object of coinage, that of stamping, by a certain device, the genuine character or weight of the minuter parts of the circulating medium, was one for the attainment of which ciphers or symbols would probably, in the first instance, suggest themselves more naturally, even in an age of literary culture, than alphabetical characters. Such symbols are, in fact, still preferred to letters among ourselves, in certain cases, as marks of metallic purity.

Comparative neglect of Black-letter pursuit in Greece.

4. Another feature of distinction between antient and modern times, of no little importance as bearing on this inquiry, is the comparative neglect, by the Greeks, of a branch of scientific pursuit, which, under the name of Black-letter taste, has obtained so extensive a popularity in the present age. The zeal for antiquarian study, so characteristic of modern science, has in another place been pointed out as the result, in a great measure, of our dependance on the antients for our first advances in the polite arts; and here again, as in the case of the sculptured literature of Greece and Rome, what originated in necessity has since ripened into habit and taste. But the Greeks, individualised in their own national feeling, and dependant on no previous state of society for the progress of their own culture, had no such inducement to retrospective study. The investigation of the remote antiquities, even of their own country, was to them matter of comparatively small practical utility. They had no lost arts to recover, no extinct civilisation to resuscitate. Proud of their actual superiority in

knowledge and taste to other nations, and attached by habit and superstition to the fabulous legends which formed so graceful a substructure to their existing splendid edifice of science and learning, they felt little disposition to mar the symmetry or unity of the whole fabric by any close scrutiny of the ruder materials of which the basement was composed. It is not, therefore, until after the decay of original genius, and the loss of national independance, had led them to look back with melancholy fondness to every memorial of their antient glory, that any distinct traces appear of a taste for the branch of antiquarian pursuit here under consideration. In the days of Herodotus a manuscript was valuable only in so far as it was useful. When worn out it was transcribed, and probably destroyed as waste paper. Hence, the absence of all notice, in later times, of original manuscripts, not to say of Homer[1] or Hesiod, but of Archilochus, Sappho, Ana-

[1] Hence too might be explained the fact, could it be established as such, so pointedly pressed by Giese (De Dial. Æol. p. 163. sq.), that all the standard antient MSS. of the Homeric poems at the disposal of the Alexandrian grammarians were written in the "Ionian" alphabet (that is, in an alphabet of which the long vowels η and ω already formed part); the use of which alphabet did not become general in European Greece until the XCIVth Ol. (404 B. C.), although familiar probably in Asia, as Giese himself observes, several centuries before. His argument as to the Homeric MSS. is grounded on the frequent occurrence of appeals by the Alexandrian critics to the Chian, Massiliotic, and other old texts, in questions as to the best-authorised readings of words such as μαχήσομαι and μαχέσομαι, Κάστωρ and Κάστορ, οὕτως and οὗτος, where the ε or η, ο or ω, might, on mere grammatical grounds, be equally admissible. Such appeals, he urges, would be nugatory, unless the distinction between those several letters had been as plainly drawn in the old codices as in the editions founded on them. So probably it may have been. But his theory as to the mode in which he supposes it must have been drawn, is set aside or greatly invalidated by abundant evidence, supplied both by classical grammarians and by antient inscriptions, of another fact overlooked by

creon, even of Herodotus or his contemporaries, having been preserved, still less cherished as objects of curiosity or interest. In the few instances where veneration was attached to cartaceous documents, a purely religious motive may be traced. The case was somewhat different in regard to monumental inscriptions. Many of these, being of a dedicatory character, were guaranteed by their sanctity from wilful destruction. Many also possessed, in their matter or style, a historical or literary value altogether distinct from antiquarian considerations. Hence, the literature of monumental epigraphy seems to have been cultivated with some diligence from the Alexandrian æra downwards. But, of strictly palæographical or black-letter research, even here little or no trace is observable.[1]

Supposed literary frauds.

From this absence either of allusion by Greek authors to preserved literary manuscripts of remote antiquity, or of pretension to possess such documents, a further inference may be derived, tending to vindicate the Greek archæologers from the very rude charges of dishonesty to which they have been exposed in the modern schools. As the authority of those native writers often interfered greatly with the late speculative theories, it has been customary to pronounce the monumental inscriptions cited by them to be forgeries, and themselves dupes or accomplices of the priests, or of others interested in this fraudulent mode of augmenting their stock of

Giese, that in the old, in itself less definite, Attic alphabet, it was customary in metrical texts to distinguish the quantity of the doubtful vowels by accents or marks, somewhat as in modern prosody. The authorities on this point have been accumulated by Villoison, in his preface to the Venetian Scholia (p. v. sqq.).

[1] Conf. Franz. Elem. Epigraph. Gr. p. 9.

local curiosities. A more impartial view of the case would rather tend to relieve the Greeks from any serious imputation of this kind. There can be no doubt that popular tradition loved to assign obscure or illegible monuments of early date, by preference, to a remote fabulous antiquity; and frauds may also, no doubt, have occasionally been committed. Yet it is somewhat remarkable, that of monuments fabricated for the express purpose of imposing on the public no authentic example has yet been adduced. Nor is it easy to reconcile with the late assumption of a prevalence of such frauds in works of stone or brass, the other undeniable fact, that not a vestige of evidence should be extant of any similar attempt at forgery having ever been made in the case of literary manuscripts. How happens it that it never should have occurred to the same zealous bands of falsifiers who had successfully fabricated Græco-Phœnician inscriptions of the heroic age of Thebes, or bustrophedon monuments of the time of Lycurgus, to produce original autographs of Homer or Hesiod, of Orpheus or Musæus, on diphthera or papyrus? Such documents would assuredly have been not less precious in the eyes of credulous Greek archæologers than a stela of Hercules or of Cadmus. But not a single allusion is extant to anything of the sort. This entire silence as to the one kind of pious fraud seems inexplicable, on the supposition of the other kind having been so universal as has been surmised. But the same silence, taken in connexion with the greater general probability that, among the written documents of real antiquity, those on the more solid material would be the best preserved, affords strong, almost conclusive, evidence that the monumental

dedications advancing claims to such antiquity, if not necessarily genuine, were at least rarely if ever wilful forgeries.[1]

Rudeness of the primitive alphabet.

The other objection to an early proficiency in the art of writing, founded on the rude appearance of the older extant specimens, is still less valid than that derived from their paucity. The analogy of historical times abundantly shows an equal or still greater rudeness to be compatible, not only with an extensive application of the alphabet to elementary purposes, but with a highly flourishing state of literature. Among various antient nations, second only to the Greeks in the cultivation of ornamental art, alphabetic writing never, even in their most civilised ages, presented a more elegant appearance than in

[1] Admitting the Greeks to have occasionally indulged in this species of literary imposture, a few examples of such fraud would no more disprove the existence of genuine archaïc monuments among them, than the modern forgeries of Ibramiotti, Fourmont, Chatterton, or others, would justify a similar inference in regard to the genuine antient relics of our own day. But the fact is, that not a single Greek inscription has yet been discovered supplying any reasonable pretext for such imputations. The examples cited by Boeckh (Præf. ad Corp. Insc. Græc.) prove nothing more than that, after the more elegant forms of the alphabet had become general, curious or fanciful persons were in the habit of engraving their dedicatory inscriptions in antiquated characters; precisely as, in modern times, the old black-letter text is often preferred to the Roman in similar cases. But no example has been substantiated of an attempt not only to imitate the alphabetic characters, but to counterfeit the facts or names, of remote antiquity. Nor must it be forgotten, that there were professional sceptics in antient Greece as well as in modern Europe; and, had the practice of literary fraud been carried to such an extent in the former country as has been assumed, neither the counterfeits nor their authors would have escaped a disgraceful notoriety. But throughout the wide field of Hellenic controversy on almost every other kind of literary question, there is here scarcely an allusion to either imputation or defence. It seems impossible to reconcile these facts with such a systematic course of imposture as Boeckh and his school assume to have been carried on, from the very earliest period, by the Greek monumental epigraphists. Conf. Franz. Elem. Epigraph. p. 75. sqq.

the earlier ruder specimens of Greek palæography. Among the Phœnicians and Etruscans, for example, whose alphabets are substantially the same as that of Greece, the taste for lineal regularity or symmetry seems never to have prevailed at all. Their monumental inscriptions of the age of Alexander, exhibit as uncouth an appearance as the Greek inscriptions of that of Solon, with a still less delicate adaptation to the niceties of pronunciation or flexion. Had clumsiness of form and arrangement, or the want of a few vowel sounds or double consonants, been incompatible with the advance of literary culture, both these nations would have remained in comparative barbarism. The progress of the useful arts, in their strictly useful capacity, keeps pace, it is true, as a general rule, with the civilisation at large of the people by whom they are practised. But the growth of the ornamental arts, or the embellishment of arts not essentially ornamental, such as that of alphabetic writing, is often the consequence of a certain impulse of national taste during a particular period. Such seems to have been the case in Greece about the epoch of the Persian war, in respect to all the politer arts, including that of writing. The Doric temple of the age of Solon was as rude, compared with the Erechtheum of Pericles, as the Melian inscription now appears, collated with the improved Attic calligraphy. Yet as architecture was quite as generally cultivated for all ordinary purposes at the one period as at the other, so probably was the art of writing.[1]

[1] Even in the time of Herodotus the forms of several letters, such as Γ and Λ, Δ and Ρ, were still uncertain, as appears from many extant inscriptions of that period, where the only sure means of distinction is the import of the text. Yet the art of writing on paper was then in a high state of perfection.

Notices of early inscribed monuments.

5. Such are the principles of distinction by which this inquiry will be regulated in regard to these important elementary considerations. In passing on to a closer analysis of the historical data for our guidance, attention is called, in the first instance, according to the arrangement above proposed, to what may be called glyptical literature; inscriptions, namely, on stone, metal, wood, or other hard substances. The more important branch of the subject, which relates to writing on pliable material, will be considered separately.

The lowest epoch at which the history of Greek letters can be said to be involved in any obscurity is that of the usurpation of Pisistratus, in the LIVth Olympiad (560 B.C.), which forms also the limit of the present subdivision of this work. From that epoch, without however any servile adherence to chronological order, the investigation will be carried back, by a sort of analytical process, to the period in which history gives place to mythology.

Epitaphs.

That sepulchral inscriptions were common in the time of Solon, a generation prior to Pisistratus, appears from one of Solon's laws[1] directed against their effacement. Considering the concise character of these earlier codes, a specific enactment would hardly have been thought requisite in regard to a practice not yet familiar or universal. The

Legislative tables.

notices of the tables on which Solon's code was promulgated shed a curious light on the mode of pub-

[1] Ap. Cic. de Legg. II. 26. Compare the tradition ap. Diog. Laert. I. ii. 48., that Solon supported the title of the Athenians to the possession of Salamis by evidence derived from the inscriptions in the more antient cemeteries of the island. A law ascribed to Lycurgus, on the subject of sepulchral inscriptions, will be considered in the sequel of this chapter.

lishing such documents in Greece; a mode which, originating in those early times, remained inveterate in the republican states of that country. These tables were formed of oblong slabs of wood or metal fixed together, so as to present the appearance of boxes of three or four sides; on each of which sides the laws were written from top to bottom. Each box or set of tables so connected turned upon a pivot or axis in the centre, for convenience of consultation; hence their familiar name of "axles."[1] The set exposed for public use was of wood, probably as the least precious and lightest material; and these are said to have had three sides. It is possible, perhaps probable, that they may have been solid blocks of wood presenting three polished surfaces. But there were others of brass which were preserved in the state repositories, and are described as quadrilateral. There is no specific record of the whole number either of axles or of tables. Mention occurs of the sixteenth table[2]; and the number of the tables seems to have much exceeded that of the laws, for the eighth law was written on the thirteenth table.[3] The writing is said to have been in the bustrophedon style.[4] That this, however, was the customary method in Solon's time need not hence be inferred. At all periods a deference to antient usage is apt to maintain its ground

[1] ἄξονες, Plut. in Sol. xxiii. sqq.; also κύρβεις, boxes, Aristot. et Cratinus ap. Plut. xxv.; Athen. vi. p. 235.; Pollux. viii. 128.; conf. Apollodor. Fragm. Heyn. p. 396. sqq., et auctt. ap. Heyn. ad loc.; Aristot. Fragm. Bekk. ed. Oxon. vol. x. p. 284., et nott. ad loc.; Dio Chrys. Or. lxxx. p. 439. Reisk. From these passages, and others cited in note 2. to p. 418. infra, it appears that these supposed "ruder" Solonic or Draconic forms and names of legislative tables were in common use at every period of Greek antiquity.

[2] Plut. in vit. Sol. xxiii. [3] Plut. op. cit. xix.

[4] Harpocrat. v. ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος; conf. Franz. Elem. Epigr. p. 35.

in public registers longer than in ordinary practice. In our own middle age, for example, after the Roman had supplanted the German character in familiar use, proclamations, epitaphs, and other similar documents, continued to be engrossed in black letter. And at a later period of Athenian literature, the old Attic orthography was retained in the state registers long after the improved Ionian style was common in the ordinary transactions of life. The code of Draco, drawn up about thirty years before that of Solon, was on similar tables, and the same name (κύρβεις), descriptive of their peculiar form, was common to both.[1]

That this mode of promulgating laws was so universally familiar at this period as to have become proverbial appears further from the saying recorded of Pittacus, the Mitylenæan statesman, an elder contemporary of Solon. When asked by the king of Lydia what he considered the best form of government, he replied, "That of the revolving tables;" in other words, that regulated by a fixed code of written laws.[2]

Votive monuments in the national sanctuaries. Pausanias.

6. The most copious and specific notices of Greek inscribed monuments of remoter date are preserved by Pausanias, the only extant author whose attention was seriously turned to the monumental antiquities of his country. His work, consequently, stands forth as a beacon amid the obscurity in which the interesting matters which it illustrates have been left by his predecessors. It is true that Pausanias was credulous, but his credulity was of that venial kind which consists in a deference to the religious belief of his

[1] Plut. in Sol. xxv.

[2] Diog. in vit. Pitt. 77.; Diodor. Sic. Exc. vii. xxvii.; conf. Aristot. de Mundo, vi. xxxvi. Bekk.; Zenob. alios ap. Gaisf. Parœm. Gr. p. 67. 77. 199. 329.

forefathers, and which may, in a Greek antiquary of that age, as in a superstitious scholar of the present, be quite compatible with common sense and sound judgement in questions of secular criticism. It is further true, as a general rule, that no implicit reliance can be placed on the authority even of the best classical archæologers in matters of palæographical antiquity. Their deficiency of philological resources rendered them, if not less veracious, less critical investigators than their brethren of modern times. There were, however, probably few men of his own nation better qualified than Pausanias, by long experience and patient research, to judge of the genuine character or comparative antiquity of the monuments he examined. The correctness of his notices is also, in many cases, borne out by their own internal evidence or by other collateral authority; and in various instances he shows a sound caution and discrimination in detecting or repudiating apocryphal or fictitious documents.[1]

In order rightly to estimate the data supplied by this author, it will be proper to consider the amount of devastation to which the chief depositories of Greek national art had been subjected before his time. Pausanias wrote towards the end of the second century of Christianity, upwards of six hundred years after Herodotus, and nearly one thousand after the Olympic æra. The places where the richest collections of monumental antiquity would have existed, had nothing interfered with their transmission to posterity, were Thebes, Athens, Delphi, and Olympia. Thebes was totally demolished by Alexander the Great, and was a village in Strabo's time. The Ismenian sanctuary,

[1] VI. xiii. 1., VIII. xiv. 4. sq., alibi.

and one or two neighbouring edifices, without the walls, seem to have been the only remnants of the former greatness of that celebrated city. Athens had been similarly ravaged by Xerxes, who had made her sacred edifices a more especial object of destruction. The Delphic sanctuary, as Pausanias[1] himself relates, had been subjected to more severe and more frequent devastations than any other spot in Greece. This was chiefly owing to the sacred wars. The peculiar character of those wars not only caused a suspension of the national law which protected religious establishments, but even promoted the destruction of their monuments The contending parties, under pretence of combating in the service of the god, converted the treasures of his house into martial weapons. The temple itself had been destroyed by fire in the LVIIIth Olympiad; and the emperor Nero carried off from Delphi, on one occasion, five hundred works of art[2], some of which seem to have been of great antiquity and curiosity. In regard to Olympia the case is somewhat different; and the fact, that precisely in this quarter the greatest number of monuments of high antiquity are described as extant, while conformable to all historical analogy, is a good guarantee of the genuine character of the works themselves.

The quadriennial returns of the Olympic festival, the chief national solemnity of Greece, had been adopted in the early part of the eighth century B.C. (776), by common consent of the confederacy, as the standard pivots of the national system of chronology. The Elean magistrates, who presided at the games, kept regular chronographical tables, in which the names of the victors for each period were in-

[1] x. vii. 1. [2] Pausan. loc. cit.

scribed. In addition to these state registers, both the dates and particulars of successive celebrations of the games were recorded by votive offerings of the victorious combatants or their patrons. The sacred precinct was also the favourite receptacle of monuments of a miscellaneous character, which the devotion, the public spirit, or the vanity of states or individuals had accumulated within this chosen rallying point of the spirit of Hellenism. While the Peloponnesian states had been at all periods comparatively less exposed to the more destructive ravages of war than the republics of Northern Greece, the superior sanctity of the Olympic circus had specially provided for its protection. No notice, accordingly, is extant of its having been either wilfully destroyed or purposely subjected to devastations similar to those of which Thebes, Delphi, and Athens had been the victims. Even foreign conquerors were led, by the associations connected with this spot, to treat it with greater respect than other depositories of Grecian art. Accordingly, so late as the time of Pausanias, though shorn of many of its treasures by the occasional depredation of a Roman governor[1], or by the little less fatal ravages of time and neglect, Olympia was still a valuable museum of monumental antiquity.

The greater weight attaches to the number, limited as it is, of dedicatory inscriptions of remote antiquity noted here, as elsewhere, by Pausanias, from the circumstance that his comments do not appear to have been specially guided by any spirit of palæographical inquiry. The more antient written monuments are quoted by him neither as proof of the antiquity of the art of writing in his own country, which it never

[1] Pausan. v. xxv. 5.

could have occurred to him to doubt, nor even in the way of archæological curiosity, but, in their turn with the rest, as illustrative of questions of national or domestic history, or of elegant art: so that for one such inscription that he has mentioned numbers may have existed. It must also be remembered, in respect to the older monuments cited by Pausanias as of uncertain age, or as dating, in his estimation, prior to the Olympic chronological æra, that, if the native antiquaries may be trusted[1], the commencement of that æra was not coeval with the first institution of the games as a federal solemnity. The last-mentioned event is said to have taken place several generations earlier, under the auspices of Iphitus king of Elis, and Lycurgus the Spartan legislator; and it was the increased community of national feeling consequent on this first formal recognition of the federal character of the games which led to their periodical returns being afterwards adopted as the standard notation of time. But even before the time of Iphitus the games appear to have been celebrated as a popular Peloponnesian festival.[2] Under any circumstances, the chief temple of the chief national deity must, from remote antiquity, have been a favourite site for devotional offerings. Although, therefore, the great mass of the monuments within the sacred precincts may have been of a date subsequent to the Olympic æra proper, there must have been exceptions, and among these are some of the more remarkable dedications noticed by Pausanias.[3]

[1] See Müll. Dor. I. p. 130. sqq.; Clint. F. H. vol. I. præf. p. ix. sqq.; conf. p. 140. sq.

[2] Hom. Il. XI. 700.

[3] Pausan. V. XX. 1., conf. VIII. 2. sq.; Aristot. ap. Plut. Lycurg. I.

7. The most important relic of a public character was the so-called disk or quoit of Iphitus. On its surface was inscribed in circular order the decree jointly ratified by that sovereign and Lycurgus, on the establishment of the festival. This decree provided that, during the celebration of the games, hostilities between Hellenic states should be suspended. It also secured to the Eleans the inviolability of their territory, as guardians of the sanctuary and judges of the games. This inscription was read and its genuine character recognised by Aristotle, and by other leading native critics and chronologers.[1] Olympia. Disk of Iphitus.

The first Olympiad of the chronological series was marked by the victory of Coræbus of Elis in the foot-race. The tomb of this athlete was seen by Pausanias on the frontiers of Elis and Arcadia, with an epitaph to the effect that "Coræbus was the first Olympic victor, and that his tomb was the boundary of the Elean territory."[2]

Among the more antient edifices within the sacred enclosure was a "treasury" of the Megarians.[3] On its frontispiece was a shield with an inscription recording its having been constructed "with the spoils of the Corinthians." Pausanias remarks that the only war of remote antiquity between Megara and Corinth, "Treasuries."

[1] Ap. Plut. loc. cit.; conf. Eratosth. ed. Bernhardy, p. 260. Mr. Grote, however, questions the genuine character of this inscription, on the ground that Herodotus has neither mentioned it nor founded on it in his chronological calculations. (Hist. of Gr. vol. II. p. 56.) This argument, if valid at all, would equally prove the Olympic chronological registers, to the historical authenticity of which Mr. Grote attaches the greatest importance, to be forgeries. They, too, are completely overlooked by Herodotus, among his authorities on Peloponnesian history, while freely citing the Spartan and other local chronicles, which Mr. Grote condemns as worthy of no credit.

[2] Pausan. VIII. xxvi. 2., conf. v. viii. 2. [3] VI. xx. 9.

in which the former state could have won trophies of such importance, was during the archonship of Phorbas at Athens, in the early part of the ninth century B. C.[1] Another similar "treasury" was that erected in the XXXIIIrd Olympiad (643 B. C.) by Myron, tyrant of Sicyon, with an inscription recording the quantity of metal used in its construction. Within the building was deposited a votive "shield" of the Myonians, a people of whom nothing was known in the days of Pausanias, but whom he conjectures to have been Locrians. The shield contained an inscription in archaïc characters, nearly obliterated by time.[2] This custom of registering public deeds of importance on circular plates or targets of metal or parchment was common, in remote antiquity, both in Greece and Italy.[3] The name Shield or Disk must not here, as a general rule at least, be understood as denoting literally that the monuments had ever been actually destined for the purposes which those designations seem to imply, but merely that, owing to their circular form, they were so called in a figurative sense.[4] The adoption of that form may, however, have originated in, or be connected with, another very antient custom, that of warriors inscribing devices on their bucklers; a custom to which Æschylus and other early tragic poets would not have given so great prominence in their dramas, had not its origin been lost in the mists of the heroic age. One of the most celebrated exploits of Aristomenes, the Messenian hero of the second Spartan war, was a mid-

[1] Clint. F. H. vol. I. p. 131. See Appendix H. [2] VI. xix. 2. sq.

[3] Festus, v. Clypeus; conf. Niebuhr. Röm. Gesch. vol. I. p. 256. ed. 1827.

[4] "Clypeos ob rotunditatem appellarunt." Festus, loc. cit.

night incursion into Sparta, and the suspension of a votive shield on the temple of Minerva, with the inscription, "Aristomenes to the Gods, from the spoils of the Spartans."[1] The legend, whether historically true or not, represents at least the manners of the age.

Chest of Cypselus.

The greatest curiosity, however, the gem as it were of the Olympic collection, appears to have been the Chest of Cypselus.[2] In this receptacle, as Herodotus relates, the Corinthian ruler of that name, father of Periander, had, when an infant, been concealed by his mother from the emissaries of the rival faction of the Bacchidæ who sought his life; and it was afterwards, in grateful commemoration of his escape, dedicated to the Olympian Juno. It was of cedar wood adorned with figures, partly carved in the wood itself, partly inlaid or embossed in ivory and gold. The figures, which were very numerous, were in groups or compartments, representing various subjects of popular mythology. To each group a brief explanatory epigram was attached; and to many of the figures were also appended the names of the persons represented. The forms of the inscriptions, which were all in very antiquated character, seem to have been regulated by the convenience of the space allotted to them, some being in the usual order, others in the bustrophedon style, others contorted into flourishes difficult to decipher.[3] The portion of their poetical contents transcribed by Pausanias comprehends thirteen hexameter verses, which he inclines to consider as the composition of Eumelus[4] of Corinth, who flourished

[1] Pausan. IV. xv. 2.

[2] Pausan. v. xvii. 2. sqq.; conf. Herodot. v. xcii. 4.; Quatremère de Quincy, Jupit. Olymp. p. 124.

[3] Pausan. loc. cit. § 3.

[4] v. xix. 2.

about 750 B. C. This opinion he grounds on a certain resemblance which he had observed in their phraseology or dialect to that of the Delian Prosodium, a well known popular poem of Eumelus. The inscriptions of the chest quoted by Pausanias are, however, in much ruder style than any extant specimen of the muse of Eumelus, or of any other professional poet of his æra. They are marked indeed by a quaint, almost doggerel tone of primitive mannerism, which, but for their palpable allusions to portions of the text of the Iliad and Odyssey, might give them claims to be considered as the oldest extant remains of the language. It seems, therefore, more probable that they are the work of some humbler genius, perhaps of the artist of the reliefs which they illustrate.

Cypselus was born about 695 B. C. The construction of the chest cannot, therefore, under any circumstances be placed later than about the commencement of that century. That Pausanias himself ascribed to it a much higher antiquity is evident, both from his conjecture as to the author of the illustrative verses, and from his alluding to it[1] as an old family possession at the period of the adventure to which it owed its public notoriety. This, therefore, was obviously one of those ornamental chests described by Homer as an ordinary article of furniture in royal or wealthy households during the heroic age, and on the rich decoration of which he dwells in several passages of both poems.[2] They are described by him as kept chiefly in the apartments of the female heads of families, as depositories of costly

[1] v. xviii. 2. [2] Il. xvi. 221. sqq.; Od. xxi. 51., xv. 104.

dresses, jewels, and other precious articles. Hence the ready occurrence of the expedient to the alarmed mother. The subjects of the reliefs were numerous and varied; but the greater part were borrowed from the affairs of Thessalian or of Peloponnesian heroes; the family of Cypselus, though already naturalised for several generations in Corinth, being of Thessalian origin. In one of the compartments Pausanias recognised an adventure connected with their first settlement in the city. The mode in which the subjects of the decorative reliefs were treated was redolent, generally, of high antiquity. Hercules appears armed with his bow, as in the old Homeric legend, not with club and lion's skin as in the innovation of the Rhodian Pisander, which first acquired popularity in the age of Cypselus himself.[1] Several of the adventures are derived from the Iliad or Odyssey, and the details of their representation indicate the artist's familiarity with the text of those poems. One of the mottoes, describing the combat between Agamemnon and the Antenoridæ in Il. XI., was engraved on the shield of the Greek commander. This fact, considering the limited space necessarily

[1] Paus. v. xvii. in fin., xix. 1. These passages have been strangely misunderstood by K. O. Müller (Archäol. der Kunst. p. 37.), who questions the genuine antiquity of the reliefs on the chest, on the ground of Hercules being there represented after the Pisandrian fashion. In both passages the hero is distinctly described as fighting with his bow. The attempts of several other critics to invalidate the authority of Pausanias have been well confuted by Thiersch, Epoch. der bild. Kunst, Mün. 1819, p. 49. The notion of the sculptured ornaments, with their inscriptions, having been added to the original work at the period of the dedication, in order to render the chest a more appropriate offering to the Olympian sanctuary, is completely set aside by the circumstance that scarcely one of the multitude of subjects treated has any immediate reference to Olympia or its mythology. Conf. Heyn. der Kast. des Cyps.; Siebelis ap. Bött. Amalth. vol. II. p. 257.

occupied by such an appendage to a single figure out of so many, proves the ingenuity displayed in lettering the monument, while it also implies the chest to have been of very large dimensions.

Other monuments at Olympia and elsewhere.

8. The remaining more antient monuments at Olympia the inscriptions on which are specified by Pausanias were, a statue of Jupiter dedicated by the Spartans during the second Messenian war, in the early part of the seventh century B. C.[1]; and a statue of Eutelides of Sparta, victor in the XXXVIIIth Olympiad (627 B. C.), with an inscription on the base obliterated by time.[2]

At Sparta, the oldest inscribed monument mentioned by Pausanias was a stela recording seven Olympic victories of the athlete Chionis[3], who afterwards joined the expedition of Battus to Cyrene, in the XXXVIIth Olympiad (630 B. C.). Another Laconian inscription of high antiquity, already alluded to in a former page, was the epigram on the votive mo-

[1] v. xxiv. 1. [2] Pausan. VI. xv. 4.; conf. v. ix. 1.

[3] Pausan. III. xiv. 3. This athlete is here called Anchionis by Pausanias, but is evidently the same person as "Chionis the Laconian," elsewhere described by the same Pausanias (IV. xxiii. 2. 5., VIII. xxxix. 2.) as eponyme victor of the XXVIIIth, XXIXth, and XXXth Olympiads, for the first, second, and third time. The period between the XXXth and XXXVIIth Olympiads would suffice to complete his number of seven victories before his embarkation with Battus. That two Spartan athletes of such extraordinary powers, the one victor in seven Olympiads, the other eponyme victor of three in succession, should have been contemporary, is obviously most improbable. The two names, therefore, denote the same person. The mistake may be laid to the charge of Pausanias himself, rather than of time or of his transcribers, and tends but to enhance the value of his testimony as to the antiquity of the inscription he has misread. In the old orthography, where the words were not distinguished by intervals, the Doric form of the verb or substantive νικᾶν or νίκαν, or of the relative particle ἄν or τάν, prefixed to the name Χιόνις, would give a combination of letters easily mistaken, in a half-obliterated monument, for the proper name Anchionis.

nument dedicated by Arion[1], in the sanctuary of Neptune at Cape Tænarus, about 610 B. C.

In the second Messenian war (665 B. C.), the plan of the Arcadians to retrieve the affairs of their Messenian allies by a secret expedition against the city of Lacedæmon was betrayed by the Arcadian chief Aristocrates to the Spartan king, and the stratagem failed accordingly. The treachery, however, was brought to light, and its author was stoned to death by his indignant subjects, who also, in commemoration of the event, erected a column near the altar of Jupiter Lycëus, with an inscription in four elegiac verses, still extant in the time of Pausanias.[2] The particulars of this transaction, together with the epigram, are also given by Polybius[3], after Callisthenes, with this slight difference, that the monument is described as dedicated by the Messenians in gratitude to the Arcadians for their generous conduct. The somewhat ambiguous tenor of the inscription admits of either interpretation, but is, perhaps, most favourable to that of Polybius.

At Delphi the only written monuments advancing claims to a remote date were the metal plates deposited in the sanctuary by the Seven Sages, and containing their celebrated maxims.[4] Another early "Delphic" monument[5], though doubtful if preserved at Delphi, was the tripod dedicated by Echembrotus the flute-player, with an elegiac inscription of three verses commemorating his victory in the second Pythiad (586 B.C.). At Athens no earlier specimen

[1] Supra, Ch. iv. p. 214. sq.
[2] Pausan. IV. xxii. 4.
[3] Polyb. IV. c. 33.
[4] Plato, Hipparch p. 228.; conf. Protag. p. 343.
[5] Pausan. X. vii. 3.

of writing than the laws of Solon is mentioned by Pausanias. Demosthenes, however[1], cites a tabular inscription in antient half-obliterated characters, containing a law relative to the rights of the King-archons, as still extant in his time in the temple of Bacchus "in the Marshes." How little value was attached by the Athenians of later times to their remains of national epigraphy may be gathered from the fact mentioned by Pausanias, that the statues of Miltiades and Themistocles had been transferred to two other persons, and the dedicatory epigrams altered accordingly. The names of the usurpers he suppresses, contented with designating them, sarcastically, a "Roman and a Thracian."[2]

Among the antient Greek inscriptions in the extant collections, there are a considerable number admitted by the most sceptical modern palæographers to range as far back as the age of Solon; that is, about the close of the seventh or the commencement of the sixth century B.C. Some of these monuments date, however, there can be little doubt, from a much more remote period of antiquity.[3]

Early Greek archives.

9. Besides the written registers mentioned by native antiquaries as exposed to public view, there is another class of similar documents, the evidence of which, if less direct, is no less conclusive in favour of the prevalence of glyptical literature in Greece, from the epoch of the Dorian settlement downwards. These are the chronological records which, as attested by the highest authorities, were more or less regularly kept in the principal cities or sanctuaries of

[1] Orat. p. Neær. p. 1370. [2] I. xviii. 3.

[3] Boeckh, Corp. Inscr. Gr. vol. I. init.; Franz, Elem. Epigr. Gr. p. 51. sqq.

Peloponnesus during the whole or the greater part of this period. To the Olympic registers attention has already been directed. Similar chronicles were preserved at the seats of other public solemnities of less universal interest. The Carneonicæ, or annals of the victors in the Carnean games of Sparta, established in 676 B.C., formed the subject of a chronological work of Hellanicus[1]; and Pindar quotes the "stone-engraved records" of the victors at Megara.[2] The state registers of the Peloponnesian republics appear to have been more regularly compiled in these early times, and afterwards more carefully preserved, than in other districts of Greece. This may be explained by various causes; the pride taken by the Dorian royal or aristocratical families in their common Heraclidan descent[3]; the consequent jealous maintenance of their pedigrees; and the comparative exemption of Peloponnesus from the more destructive vicissitudes of war or conquest. The earlier Spartan chronicles contained, apparently, little more than the names of the kings[4], with the number of years of each reign; to which were added the names of the ephori, after the institution of that office. These chronicles formed the subject of a work by Charon of Lampsacus[5], a historian prior to Herodotus, who is also said to have illustrated their meagre

[1] Similar records were preserved at Sicyon, and from them Plutarch cites the names of the more antient masters of the musical art. De Mus. III. VIII.

[2] Pind. Ol. VII. 156.

[3] Plato, Hipp. Maj. p. 285.

[4] Hence Müller (p. 132.) explains very ingeniously the uncertainty as to the age of Lycurgus; never having himself reigned, no accurate record was preserved of his epoch.

[5] Suid. v. Χάρων. The great antiquity of these and other similar registers is vouched for by their name Ὧροι; from ὦρος, an antient, and at every classical period obsolete, term for year (Athen. XI. p. 475.), sometimes used in the compound form ὡρογραφίαι. Etym. M. v. ὦρος.

details by inscriptions from sepulchres and votive offerings; a rare and early instance of recourse being had to such aids. The same registers supplied Eratosthenes, the most critical of Greek chronologers, and his disciple Apollodorus, with their data for settling the period from the Heraclid migration to the first Olympiad.[1] The antient archives of the Eleans appear to have contained[2] similar genealogies of their kings of the dynasty established simultaneously with that of the Dorians in Sparta; and equal credit for antiquity and regularity seems to have attached to the chronicles kept in the temples of Juno at Argos and Sicyon, recording the succession of priestesses in those sanctuaries. The general harmony of dates in these various registers, as testified by later chronologers, is a strong argument of their genuine character. Timæus, as cited by Polybius[3], compared the lists of the Spartan ephors, from their first institution, with those of the kings, and the lists of the Athenian archons with the succession of Argive priestesses and of Olympic victors, investigating and adjusting the details of each register by years or even months. With every allowance for the hypercritical genius of this compiler, it is difficult to believe that documents which supplied material for such researches could have been devoid of chronological value.

Other strong evidence of the antiquity and regularity of these chronicles is to be found in the fact, that, in regard to the events of the period over which they extend, from the Dorian irruption downwards,

[1] Plut. Lycurg. I.; Diod. Sic. I. v.; conf. Müll. Dor. I. vii. p. 132.; Heyn. Fragm. Apollod. p. 411.

[2] Pausan. v. iv. 5.; conf. Müll. op. cit. p. 133.

[3] Excerpt. vol. III. p. 42. ed. Vindob. 1763.

poetical tradition is altogether silent. The subjects not only of the regular epopee, but of the genealogical poetry of this period, still continue, even with the Dorian poets, Eumelus, Cinæthon, Pisander, and others, to be derived exclusively from the ante-Dorian æra, from the exploits or sufferings of the Labdacidæ, Pelopidæ, or Laertiadæ. Neither the Dorian conquest, the great Ionian migration, nor the Messenian wars, find a single epic annalist. An occasional allusion in a lyric ode is all that the Muse of Poetry has vouchsafed to those deeply interesting and important events. This is one of the most singular and apparently inexplicable phenomena of early Greek literature; one to which it were difficult to find a parallel elsewhere, and which it is the more surprising should never have attracted the notice of modern critics. Any attempt to explain it in these pages must be reserved for the portion of them devoted to the early history of prose composition. It supplies, at least, evidence which it seems impossible to evade, that the framework of historical fact, which even the most sceptical inquirers have not failed to recognise in the period between the Dorian conquest and the first Olympiad, could only have been transmitted by means of written monuments.[1]

Ante-Dorian monuments.

10. The foregoing details can leave no reasonable doubt that writing, in the special mode to which our present inquiries are more immediately confined, was practised to a greater or less extent by the Dorian states of Greece, from about the period of their establishment downwards. But the Dorians were proverbially a barbarous race as compared with that which they subdued or expelled, and were always

[1] See Appendix J.

behind their Ionian and Attic kinsmen in the arts of civilised life. It may therefore safely be assumed that, during the period above examined, the art of writing, if so familiar even to the Dorians, must have been more extensively cultivated, not only in the Asiatic colonies, but in the neighbouring state of Attica where the old civilisation maintained its ground; although circumstances have proved more favourable to the preservation of distinct evidence on the subject in the former than in the two latter cases. Nor, therefore, can there be any reasonable doubt that the Peloponnesian Dorians received their elementary knowledge of the art from the race whom they had supplanted; or, in other words, that they found that art already practised in their new territory, on their arrival. They can hardly be supposed to have brought it down with them from Pindus; nor is it very likely to have been first imported from the East into Peloponnesus immediately on the settlement of these semibarbarous invaders, a people averse to commerce or foreign intercourse, after having remained so long a mystery to their more enterprising and enlightened predecessors. The preferable opinion, then, must be, that the alphabet was familiar to the more civilised tribes of Hellenes prior to the Dorian usurpation, and, by consequence, that earlier written monuments than any above cited may have existed in Greece. It is true, on the other hand, that the classical notices of such monuments, as necessarily connecting them with fabulous persons and events, can possess no tangible or specific historical value. Still, however, they may not be altogether devoid of indirect or speculative value, as illustrative of the early vicissitudes of the art of writing.

Attention will here be confined to a very few of the more familiarly known and respectably attested monuments of this apocryphal class. Among these, a first place is due to the three votive bronze tripods described by Herodotus[1] in his standard passage on Greek palæography. These monuments were preserved in the temple of the Ismenian Apollo at Thebes. On each was engraved the name of the donor and the object of the dedication. The first tripod, in a single hexameter line, described itself as dedicated by Amphitryon; the second and third announced themselves, each in two hexameter lines, as offerings the one of Polydamas, the other of Scæus. The writing is described by the historian as in the old Cadmean or Phœnician character, previous to the modifications which the alphabet underwent on its subsequent more extended use among the native Hellenes. The genuine antiquity of these dedications has, by modern critics, been very generally and reasonably denied on two principal grounds: the mythical age and fabulous personality of their reputed dedicators, and the language in which they are expressed. On the latter objection it may be observed, that, while all three epigrams are marked by much rude quaintness of style and idiom, the last alone contains traces of a phraseology little in keeping with the primitive forms of the poetical dialect. It must, however, be remembered, that much of the antiquated effect of any such inscription depends on its being given in the original orthography, not, as these now appear, in that of classical times. Many a distich might be selected from Chaucer, which, as written by himself, would be as obscure to the understanding as harsh to the ear

Tripods of the Ismenian sanctuary.

[1] v. lix.

of an Englishman of the present day, but, if reduced to the modern spelling, might pass current as the production of a living author.

No suspicion of wilful deceit on the part of Herodotus has here ever attached to that historian The prevailing opinion has been that he was himself imposed on by the priests; and this is, perhaps, under certain restrictions, the most reasonable view. That the inscriptions, however, were wilful forgeries of the priests cannot be so readily admitted. To the general reasons above advanced against too easy an acquiescence in charges of this nature, others may be added more immediately applicable to the present case. It is plain, from the remarks of Herodotus, that the writing must have been of the most antiquated character. He alludes to the modifications which the Phœnician alphabet had undergone since its first importation by Cadmus, selecting these letters as specimens of the old Cadmean type, and as the most primitive, if not the only, specimens of that type which he had seen. Although Herodotus may not be entitled to rank as a critical philologer in the modern sense, his views here expressed on the vicissitudes of the national orthography are consistent and judicious, and he was, perhaps, of all men of his age, the one best qualified, from observation and experience, to judge, by the eye at least, of such distinctions. Even admitting, therefore, that the verses on the tripods were forgeries, the fact that the Ismenian priests possessed so great a knowledge of the mysteries of Oriental palæography, as to forge inscriptions in Phœnician characters calculated to pass current with Herodotus for genuine, were in itself a strong argument of the facilities which Bœotia offered for such studies in the number and

antiquity of the relics it contained. The earlier we assume the fraud to have been executed, the stronger this argument becomes.

It might, however, be open to doubt, whether these inscriptions were really legible to Herodotus himself. Perhaps the more probable view is, that they were not, and that he has taken their interpretation on the authority of the priests: for it is certain, from other passages of his history, that Herodotus was much more likely to become the dupe of empirical interpreters of illegible antient writing, than to mistake the forgeries of a local Bœotian priesthood for genuine monuments. On this supposition another question would arise, whether the inscriptions were legible even to the priests. The opposite opinion, that they were not distinctly legible to either party, is perhaps the most plausible in itself, and that which supplies the best solution of the difficulty. Various intermediate hypotheses, however, suggest themselves, between that of the epigrams being a literal transcript of a legible text, and that of their being an imaginary interpretation of an illegible one. The priests may have been able conjecturally to decipher a word or two in each inscription, a proper name for example, and may have accommodated the rest to the received tradition of the temple relative to the dedicator. There exists other incidental evidence in favour of this latter view. Pausanias[1] mentions the tripod of Amphitryon as still extant in his time, but gives a different account of its dedication. According to him, it was the custom for noble young Thebans to serve the office of laurel-bearer to Apollo during a year, and to dedicate a tripod in the sanctuary at

[1] IX. X. 4.

the expiry of their term of duty: "and the most remarkable of these monuments," he continues, "both in respect of its antiquity and the rank of the donor, is that presented by Amphitryon on behalf of the youthful Hercules." It is obviously not very likely that the tripod here mentioned was different from that seen by Herodotus; but it might easily happen that the local ciceroni, while constant to the name of Amphitryon, had varied their rendering of the obscure dedication, during the seven centuries that had elapsed since the visit of the historian.

Upon the whole, then, there can be little doubt that these inscriptions, whatever their exact import, were genuine specimens of the earliest Cadmean or Græco-Phœnician alphabet, of more antiquated form than Herodotus had elsewhere met with. They tend, therefore, at least to corroborate the tradition of a priority of Bœotia, among the Greek states, in the knowledge and use of the art of writing.

Other Cadmean monuments.

11. Another notice of the old Æolo-Phœnician alphabet, in an apocryphal work of Aristotle[1], derives, from its connexion with the text of Herodotus just examined, an importance which might not otherwise attach to it. Near the town of Hypate, on the frontiers of Thessaly and Phocis, a cippus was disinterred inscribed with letters unintelligible to the finder, who sent the monument to Athens, as the metropolis of science, to be interpreted. The messenger, on his way through Bœotia, was advised to visit the Ismenian sanctuary, as, among the votive monuments there preserved, were some bearing similar characters. This advice he followed, and was furnished, accordingly, by the learned men of that

[1] De Mirab. Auscult. cxxxiii.

establishment with six verses relating to the adventure of Hercules with Geryon. The accuracy of this interpretation, as in the case of Amphitryon's tripod, may rest on its own merits. The essential point is the fact of an illegible inscription from a neighbouring province having been found, on collation, to resemble others, probably as illegible, at Thebes, the same doubtless described by Herodotus as remains of Cadmean writing. The priests, in the one as in the other case, would be at no loss for a solution of the enigma.

A third notice of primitive Bœotian epigraphy is that transmitted by Plutarch[1] concerning a plate of brass bearing cabalistic letters, discovered at Haliartus, near Thebes, in the interior of a monument which tradition called the tomb of Alcmena, destroyed by the Spartans under Agesilaus about 380 B. C. In the same tomb were found a brass necklace and two terra cotta urns. The Spartan king is said to have sent to Egypt, the supposed fountain-head of all mystical lore, for an explanation of the inscription; with what result does not appear. The natural inference is, that a specimen of illegible writing, found in the reputed sepulchre of one of the same Cadmean family, would be in the same Cadmean alphabet which Herodotus saw on the Theban tripod. Of the authenticity of the notice itself, its own internal evidence, and the mode in which it is introduced by Plutarch, can leave no reasonable doubt.

The above notices, referring to some five or six monuments, appear, whether as respects their internal evidence or their connexion with each other, to be the most authentic allusions to an ante-Dorian use of

[1] De Gen. Socrat. pp. 577—579.

writing, and are all concentrated around Bœotia, the reputed seat of the first establishment of the alphabet in Greece. A recent discovery has supplied another curious link in the connexion between the primitive Græco-Phœnician alphabet and the name of Cadmus.[1] The island of Thera, in the Ægæan, was celebrated as the seat of a colony of that hero's followers, left by him on its coast when on his voyage to Greece, which colony afterwards received an augmentation from Sparta of citizens also claiming descent from the Græco-Phœnician blood royal of Thebes. It is, therefore, a remarkable coincidence, that precisely in this island a number of Greek inscriptions should in our own time have been discovered, the characters of which exhibit the closest resemblance to, in the older specimens almost identity with, the original Phœnician alphabet. So striking has this resemblance appeared even to the ablest and most zealous living opponent of the antiquity of Greek writing, that he has been constrained to admit the evidence it affords of a basis of fact in the legend of Phœnician settlement in the island.

Part II. WRITING FOR LITERARY PURPOSES.

General remarks.

12. In passing on to the remaining head of this inquiry, which treats of the application of the alphabet to literary purposes in the more familiar sense, it need hardly be observed, that, unless for the sake of method, no marked distinction can with propriety be drawn between the two branches of the art, in the conduct of any such investigation. The extension of the

[1] Boeckh, Abh. der Berl. Akad. der Wissensch. 1838, p. 41. sqq.; Franz, Elem. Epigr. Gr. p. 51.

one branch must involve from the first a proportional increase of the other. The custom of posting notices in public places implies a more or less general capacity to read them; and even the first elements of literature can hardly be mastered by any considerable portion of the community, without a supply of more convenient materials for study and practice than slabs of wood or stone. Attention has already been directed to the uncritical argument against any general spread of monumental writing in early times, which has been grounded on the inelegant forms of the older extant Greek dedicatory inscriptions. Still more fallacious were the like inference in regard to writing for literary purposes. Although the first rude attempts in alphabetic art would probably be made on hard substances, it is inherent in the very nature of things, that the practice of tracing letters with ink on a susceptible surface would be earlier carried to perfection than that of engraving them on stone or metal. Of this conclusive proof is afforded, on the one hand by the comparative rudeness of many extant inscribed monuments, both Greek and Roman, transmitted from flourishing epochs of classical literature; on the other hand, by the paper or parchment diplomas of our own dark ages, which offer fine specimens of their own style of art, executed at epochs when monumental literature was in a very degraded state. Niebuhr has shown[1] that written books existed in Rome under the Tarquins; but the date of the oldest extant Latin inscription, the epitaph of Scipio Barbatus, the style of which equals in rudeness that of the earlier Hellenic specimens, is later by several centuries than the expulsion of the kings. Were the analogy transferred from Rome to

[1] Röm. Gesch. vol. I. p. 526. sq. 530.

Greece, even granting the oldest preserved Hellenic monument to date but from the time of Solon[1], the art of writing for literary purposes might have been familiar in the ninth century B.C.

By those who fix the middle of the sixth century B.C. as the utmost limit of any general practice of committing popular compositions to writing, the practice of their general perusal has been consistently assigned to a later epoch; since it was not to be supposed that any large body of the citizens would be suddenly endowed with capacity for a branch of intellectual pursuit to which even professional men of science had only just begun to turn their attention. This opinion has been pronounced by Wolf, in allusion to the hermæ, or way posts, with which Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, adorned the market towns and public thoroughfares of Attica, and on which were inscribed moral sentences for the edification of the passengers. It is not easy to apprehend, on first view, how those who admit the truth of this fact can question the general capacity to read on the part of the Attic population of this period. If so illiterate as has been supposed, what benefit, the question naturally occurs, were they to derive from the institution? This difficulty, however, has been evaded on the ground that the object of Hipparchus may have been, by exciting their curiosity, "to encourage them to learn;" and that, amid the great deficiency of writing-

[1] Payne Knight, according to whose palæographical system the oldest extant Greek inscriptions do not mount higher than this date, or about 600 B.C., grounds upon that hypothesis one of his principal arguments of the Iliad and Odyssey not having been written prior to that epoch. Upon the same principle, it would be necessary to measure the period at which the Hebrew scriptures were first written by the oldest extant specimens of Hebrew epigraphy, which belong to a more recent age than that of Solon. Prolegg. ad Hom. §§ xxxviii. xlii.

material at that period, these monuments "may have served as a species of horn-book for practice."[1] It is true that this learned trifling, for it certainly deserves no better name, has been in a great measure repudiated by the reviving common sense of the classical public.[2] Here, however, as in the previous more elementary branch of the inquiry, the best mode of securing method and perspicuity will be to assume, as a basis, the latest period concerning which any serious doubts have been expressed, and hence to carry back the investigation, by the same analytical process, to those ages in which the entertainment of such doubts becomes reasonable.

The Athenian ostracism.

13. There is no more celebrated institution of the Athenian republic than that of the Ostracism, which gave to the democracy an arbitrary power of pronouncing sentence of banishment against ambitious citizens. This power was exercised by each man inscribing the name of the person whose exile he desired upon a tile, which he deposited in a place set apart for the purpose in the Agora. If the number of tiles exceeded six thousand, the sentence of banishment was enforced; if not, the ostracism was void.[3] It is clear that this law is a practical assumption that, at the period of its enactment, every Athenian citizen could not only read, but write. It will hardly be objected, on the strength of the popular anecdote concerning Aristides, that the exercise of the privilege may have been common to the whole body of freemen, although

[1] Wolf, Prolegg. § xvii. not. 35. p. 72.: "Ne vero ex his inscriptionibus colligas eo tempore quemvis Athenis legere scisse.... Potuerunt tamen ad discendum invitari illo instituto, non pejore, opinor, elementariis libellis nostris."

[2] See more especially Nitzsch's excellent work, De Historia Homeri.

[3] Plut. in Aristid. p. 322.

but few had the benefit of liberal education, because the rest might have their tile inscribed by their neighbours. The notion of some thousand citizens, in times of popular excitement, being under the necessity of exercising so important a privilege at second hand, were as inconsistent with the genius of that age as with the secrecy which forms so essential an element of all ballot, and to provide for which was evidently the main object of the process. The opening to fraud, by the writing of false names, would also have tended to nullify the whole system, and render these haughty freemen dependant on an oligarchy of scribes for the exercise of their highest privilege.

Such a law, therefore, could neither have been enacted nor carried into effect in any state where education was not general; and, at whatever period the ostracism existed in Athens, the great majority at least of the citizens, amounting to from twenty thousand to thirty thousand, must have been able to read and write. Stress is here laid on the two correlative departments of art, "reading and writing;" for whoever is familiar with the habits of the less educated class, even in our own time, must know that the number of persons who possess the former art alone is always greater than that of those who combine the two. The extension of the latter must consequently, in every case, form the best and most conclusive evidence of the literary attainments of a people. The capacity to scratch a name upon a tile may not, indeed, appear any very severe test of a liberal education; yet he must have been no contemptible scribe who could engrave some of the longer Athenian names, often with the distinctive adjuncts of tribe and parentage, on a material not

certainly, to our notions, of the most convenient description.

Had so remarkable a practice as the ostracism been first introduced during any distinctly historical period, it might seem difficult to explain the absence of all positive notices as to the time or circumstances of its origin. Without, therefore, going the length of several respectable authors who trace it back to the fabulous ages of the republic, it might yet be reasonable to consider it as some antient national custom anterior to Solon's legislation. Let it, however, be admitted, with the best classical authorities[1], to have been established, at the latest, by Clisthenes, about 510 B.C., after the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, in order to guard for the future against the too great influence even of meritorious citizens. Aristides, as authentic history records, was its victim within thirty years afterwards; and the institution is not alluded to as a novelty at that period. Education, therefore, must have been universal among the citizens of Athens, in the year above noticed. It may also, however, safely be asserted, that the assumption by legislative enactment at any given period in that age and country, as a matter of course, that every citizen could write, is in itself conclusive proof that the liberal arts must have been more or less cultivated by the mass of the community during several previous generations, and familiar probably, during several previous centuries, to those classes who had more leisure or taste for such pursuits. These are facts which ought to render the modern critic very cautious in his comparative estimate of the state of

[1] Diodor. Sic. XI. lv.; Ælian. V. H. XIII. xxiv., conf. Perizon. ad loc.; Heraclid. frg. I., conf. Schneidewin. ad loc. p. 39.

literature in primitive Greece, and in his own age. It were still, perhaps, possible to find, in some of the more enlightened regions of modern Europe, a borough containing some thousand freemen, where, if the clandestine exercise of a political privilege were to be clogged with the formalities attending the Athenian mode of ballot, the consequence might be a virtual disfranchisement of a large portion of the constituency.

It appears, from the statistical returns of the year 1842[1], that the proportion of the adult male population of England and Wales who in that year could not write their names was 32·4 per cent, or about one third of the whole. Had therefore "universal suffrage and vote by ostracism" formed a part of the Reform Bill of 1831, about one third of the citizens of this country would have been disqualified for the exercise of the franchise by the condition with which it was clogged; a condition involving but the same amount of education considered as an indispensable palladium of their liberties by the supposed illiterate citizens of Athens in the sixth century B.C.

Public opinion in early Greece concerning national education.

14. The almost total loss of the works of the numerous writers, especially of the lyric poets, who flourished between the Olympic æra and the Persian war, deprives us in a great measure, though not entirely, as has been and will be still further seen, of what would probably have been a copious repertory of contemporary evidence regarding the state of education during that period. The deficiency, however, of their direct testimony is in some degree made good by the indirect evidence of their nearest successors, whose impressions as to the age in which they lived

[1] The latest to which the author has had access. Porter, Progress of the Nation, p. 707.

were derived from their works. Not one of these early classics, so distinguished for candour and impartiality, even modesty, in all that regards the comparative antiquity of their national culture, seems to have entertained a suspicion that practical literature was a mushroom plant which had sprung up suddenly at Athens about the LIVth Olympiad. All treat it as a tree of old and gradual growth, with roots tapering deep into the soil of ages, and the stem of which had slowly and steadily attained its solid character, and the branches the luxuriant foliage by which they were adorned, in the early Attic period. It was hardly, therefore, to be expected that those writers would adduce formal proof of what no one doubted. Silence, indicating the universal notoriety of a fact, is often stronger attestation than the keenest expression of individual conviction. There exists, however, in incidental passages, sufficient evidence of their opinions. Herodotus, for example, even giving him credit for a large share of popular credulity in such matters, could never have penned his celebrated passage on the primitive Greek alphabet and writing-material, had there been room for so much as a conjecture that the oldest extant Greek volumes dated but a century before his own day: still less could Stesichorus, about the seventh century B.C., have ascribed the invention of letters to a hero of the Trojan war, had it not been notorious among all well-informed men, in the days of that poet, that books had been familiarly written and read in Greece from time immemorial. Even the tragic poets, from Æschylus downwards, although their text cannot be quoted as historical testimony in the stricter sense, would hardly have represented their heroes habitually resorting to

Herodotus.

Stesichorus.

the art, had its practice not been universally believed to be lost in the mist of ages.

Even in the most favoured regions of modern Europe but a limited number of the population, as we have already seen, can read and write; and the acquirement of those arts is, in many countries, matter of little concern to the people themselves, and neglected or coldly encouraged by the governments. With the Greeks the case was different. It was a consequence of that spirit of social equality which marks their republican ages, that every art considered as closely connected with the duties of public life became a branch of public education. Besides the anxiety of each citizen to secure to his descendants the elementary qualifications for the duties or privileges of his order, it was also the concern of the common parent, the state, to place all her children on an equal footing in these important respects. Hence, from the earliest period, in every part of Greece, a knowledge of letters is alluded to by classical authors as an indispensable accomplishment of a Hellenic freeman. About the time when the Athenian ostracism first appears in a state of activity, the death of a hundred and twenty children at Chios was occasioned, as we learn from Herodotus[1], by the falling in of the schoolhouse in which they were assembled. Still more characteristic of the genius of the age is the anecdote[2] of the "tyrant" of Mitylene, who, in the flourishing days of that republic, in the early part probably of the seventh century B.C., having subjugated some neighbouring states, resorted, as a means of curbing their spirit of independance, to the expedient of prohibiting the instruction of their

[1] VI. XXVII.

[2] Ælian. Var. Hist. VII. XV.; conf. Plehn. Lesb. p. 89. sq. 94.

youth in letters and music. It appears, also, certain, that both these arts were enjoined by the codes of Lycurgus[1] and of other early lawgivers.[2] In whatever age it was customary to expose publicly laws, treaties of peace, and other state documents, it would be discreditable for any citizen to be unable to read them. Nor is it an unimportant fact, or tradition, it matters little which, recorded by Aristotle, that Zaleucus of Locris, the first reputed author of a written code for that republic in the early part of the seventh century (660 B.C.), was a shepherd and a slave, who raised himself by his talents to the office of legislator.[3] Literary culture must have been in a certain state of forwardness, when it opened up a road to distinction even to persons of this class. Legislation on the subject.

Thales, about the middle of the same century, foretold an eclipse of the sun, which came to pass under the great-grandfather of Cyrus. The mathematical science requisite for any such computation implies, on the part of its author, a familiar knowledge of writing, and the possession of convenient material for its exercise. The six remaining sages, Thales.

[1] Plut. in vit. Lyc. XVI.; Instit. Lacon. p. 237 A.

[2] Of Crete, Heraclid. Polit. III.; Ephor. ap. Strab. p. 482.; Ælian. V. H. II. XXXIX. Of Draco and Solon, Æschin. adv. Timarch. p. 32. sqq. Reisk.; conf. Plat. Crito, p. 50 D., De Legg. p. 689 D. 804 D. 809. sq. Of Charondas, Diod. Sic. XII. xii. Diodorus here dwells pointedly on the great extent and precision of the regulations of this lawgiver (500 B.C.?) relative to literary instruction. When, therefore, Aristotle (Polit. II. ix. p. 69. Tauchn.), in treating of the code of Charondas, specifies certain penalties against false testimony, as the only enactments peculiar to it among others of early date, we may the more certainly assume that the injunction as to public education was common to all these primitive legislators. Conf. Aristot. Polit. VIII. ii. Tauchn. p. 257. in fine.

[3] Ap. Schol. Pind. Ol. X. (XI.) 17.; Suid. v. Ζάλευκος; conf. Aristot. Fragm. Bekk. ed. Oxon. vol. X. p. 322.

of whom Thales was the seventh, were assuredly as well qualified in this respect as himself. Nor can there be any reasonable objection to the accounts, although not perhaps historically authenticated, of a correspondence by letters between remarkable characters of this period, between Solon and Mimnermus, Periander of Corinth and Thrasybulus of Lindus, Polycrates of Samos and Amasis the last of the Pharaohs. The Samian prince has also the credit of establishing a public library in his metropolis. And here it is that a place properly belongs, as an encourager of literature, to Pisistratus, whose real merits in this respect have been too much overlooked, in the zeal of his admirers to load his memory with fictitious glories. In early times, complete copies of more voluminous works were limited to professional men of letters, to the rhapsodists, who made a livelihood by their recital, to the schoolmaster, and other curious persons. Pisistratus is the first who is recorded as having practically exerted himself in the promotion of literary pursuit, not merely by encouraging living men of genius, but by multiplying good editions of the works of their predecessors, and by the establishment of a repository where those works might be stored up for the use of the citizens at large.[1] The oracular or sacred part of this collection was removed to Lacedæmon by the Spartan king Cleomenes.[2] The remainder is said to have been carried off (more probably destroyed) by Xerxes on the capture of the city, and to have been restored to the Athenians by Seleucus Nicator[3], two hundred years afterwards.

Pisistratus.

In the list, however, of classic allusions to the familiar use of letters between the Olympic æra and

[1] Athen. I. § 4.; Aul. Gell. VI. 17.
[2] Herodot. V. xc.
[3] Gell. loc. cit.

the Persian war, the most important place belongs to those by contemporary authors. The value of these notices is also, unfortunately, much enhanced by the slenderness of the remains from which they are derived. Among many of a more or less distinct character, in the fragments of "Hesiod," Stesichorus[1], Erinna, Pittacus, Solon, a more peculiar value attaches to a passage of Archilochus, involving also a somewhat more extended range of historical illustration.

"Hesiod." Archilochus.

15. Of the many singular institutions of Sparta, the Scytalë, or mode of conducting state correspondence, was one of the most remarkable. It consisted of two cylindrical pieces of wood exactly equal in size and form to each other, one of which was kept by the magistrate, the other was delivered to his agent or officer. When either party had any matter of importance to communicate, he cut a long narrow stripe of parchment[2], and rolling it in spiral form about his staff, one fold close upon another, wrote the dispatch on its surface; then, unrolling it again, he transmitted it to his correspondent, who wrapped it round his own staff, when the writing, which before was disjointed and unintelligible, appeared very plain.[3] The existence of this practice at any epoch of the Lacedæmonian republic affords no less positive proof than does the ostracism in the parallel case of Athens, that letters were then an essential part of education in Sparta. All the citizens of the latter republic, with the exception of the kings, were

The Spartan scytalë.

[1] Of Stesichorus see above (p. 401.). In "Hesiod's" Maxims of Chiron, a work of acknowledged high antiquity, and quoted and paraphrased by Pindar, it was enjoined that children should not be instructed in letters until seven years old. Quintil. I. i. 15.; conf. vol. II. p. 438.

[2] Hence the name σκυτάλη; from σκύτος, hide or skin.

[3] Plut. in Lysand. p. 444.

equal in the eye of the constitution, and its whole theory went to maintain and secure that equality, as regards mind, body, and estate. They were, therefore, according to one of their fundamental laws, educated in the same manner[1], on a prescribed plan, and under the superintendance of officers intrusted with that department of state discipline. The knowledge of letters, therefore, which the code of Lycurgus enjoined, limited as it appears to have been, was common at least to every Spartan. The ephori, by whom this correspondence was carried on, were themselves private citizens annually selected, like the Roman tribunes, from the whole body, usually, it would seem, from the lower order of Spartan freemen.[2] No one, therefore, was qualified for the office of Ephorus who had not both acquired and kept up his stock of literary accomplishment. But in Sparta, even did the state permit any such laxness, few would be willing to incur the stigma of incapacity for the duties of a popular magistrate. Whoever aspired to the command of an army must have been similarly qualified; and, although this duty, in early times, was specially appropriated to the kings, they were frequently unable to fulfil it, from old age, imbecility of body or mind, or other obvious causes. Every true Spartan, therefore, it may safely be assumed, was, at the period when the practice of the scytalë prevailed, expected to be able to read and write. A similar inference as to the general use of writing throughout the districts politically connected with Sparta, at any period in which this mode of correspondence existed, is no less obviously involved in the peculiar character of that correspondence. Such extraordinary precautions

[1] Aristot. Polit. iv. vii. p. 130. Tauchn.

[2] Aristot. Polit. ii. vii. p. 62. Tauchn.

against the risk of a dispatch being read by others than the person to whom it was addressed, would hardly have been devised in a country where no one could read with the exception of a few state officers or professional scribes. The question then occurs, How far back does the practice extend?

The singularity of the institution brought the term Scytalë into proverbial use in Greece for any message or announcement of importance. Hence Pindar[1] addresses a brother-minstrel, when intrusting him with a poetical embassy, as "the Muse's scytalë." This the scholiast on the passage interprets as the "Muse's messenger, or herald." He adds that the saying was proverbial, and cites a similar use of it by Archilochus. The text appealed to by the scholiast forms the exordium of a moral tale, where, when about to declare some unpleasant truths to one of the objects of his satire, the Parian poet likens himself or his ode to a scytalë containing unwelcome intelligence:

ἐρέω τιν' ὑμῖν αἶνον, ὦ Κηρυκίδη,
ἀχνυμένη σκυτάλη. . . .

A tale I have to tell thee, O Cerycides,
No welcome scytalë. . . .

This distich is one of the most celebrated passages in the whole works of this celebrated author, and became, in its turn, as proverbial for unpleasant tidings as the term Scytalë for message in general.[2] It has, indeed, been questioned by modern critics, whether the text should be understood as referring to the Lacedæmonian mode of correspondence, or may not rather allude to a similar practice said to have prevailed

[1] Ol. VI. 154.

[2] Conf. Liebel. ad Archil. frg. LXVIII.

in private transactions for the preservation of vouchers or duplicates of ordinary social contracts.[1] It has been further alleged as not probable that any local custom of Sparta should have obtained so great notoriety at that early period as to supply subject of proverbial allusion to a foreign poet. This view of the passage would certainly add force to its evidence in favour of the universality of parchment literature in the time of Archilochus. But the other more limited interpretation is preferable. Admitting that such a method of preparing confidential documents could have been so generally employed in other cases as to have passed into proverb, it does not appear that any other people but the Spartans were in the habit of employing that method for the transmission of dispatches. It is, however, to this particular purpose that the allusions of both Pindar and Archilochus evidently point. In the passage of the latter poet much of the humour of the figure is plainly connected with the name or nickname, whichever it may be, of the person to whom the sonnet was addressed, Cerycides, or Herald-son; just as the Spartan herald (Ceryx), when brought on the stage by Aristophanes, is forthwith bantered about his scytalë.[2] As to the imputed improbability of a Lacedæmonian custom having been already so notorious in Greece, it may be remarked, that about the period when Archilochus flourished Sparta was, perhaps, the state of the whole Hellenic confederacy whose affairs excited the liveliest interest among the other members of that body. The Messenian wars, then in full activity, were the most remarkable events of that age; and the preponderance of Spartan power in Peloponnesus,

[1] Conf. Nitzsch. de Hist. Hom. p. 76.

[2] Lysistrat. 989. sqq.

founded on the successful issue of those wars, seemed already to foreshadow the subsequent ascendancy of Lacedæmon in the affairs of all Greece. The various singular institutions on which this ascendancy was founded would therefore the more naturally become objects of public interest, especially with an inquisitive man of genius like Archilochus. Sparta was, also, at this time the favourite resort of eminent lyric poets; and Archilochus himself is said to have courted her patronage, but to have been prohibited a residence within her bounds, owing to the licentiousness of his muse. It may be remarked, as concluding this chain of evidence, that the passage has never been interpreted, by any one of the numerous classical authors who cite it, in any other sense than that in which it has here been understood. It affords, therefore, distinct proof that Archilochus was not only in the habit of writing his works on convenient material, but of distributing copies of them to his friends, more frequently, perhaps, as in the present case, to his enemies.

This poet flourished about the close of the eighth or commencement of the seventh century B.C.; nearly a century and a half prior to the usurpation of Pisistratus. It may, however, safely be assumed, that any such custom, in order to become proverbial, must have been already long established. The peculiar nature of the correspondence, employed[1] chiefly as a check in the hands of the ephori, or Spartan "tribunes of the people," on the ambition of military commanders when absent from the city, seems to favour the conjecture of its institution having been coeval with the establishment of that

[1] Plut. in Lysand. p. 444.

magistracy, ascribed by Aristotle[1] to king Theopompus, who flourished about 750 B.C. By others[2] the council of the ephori was considered, perhaps with better reason, as an original institution of Lycurgus, several generations earlier. The existence, at either period, of the correspondence by scytalë affords conclusive evidence that writing, not merely on wood or stone, but on pliable material, was quite familiar to the Spartans, proverbially the least literary people of Greece, in the eighth or ninth century before the Christian æra.

Education in Sparta and Crete.

16. This custom tends both to confirm and illustrate the ordinances attributed to Lycurgus concerning the liberal arts. Letters were prescribed[3] as a part of public education, but under certain restrictions, as in the parallel practice of Crete[4], whence so much of his system was borrowed. While all refinements of speculative literature or science were discountenanced, a certain amount of practical learning was held indispensable for the conduct of public business, whether state correspondence, registration of deeds, treaties of peace, or the transmission of oracular decrees and national poems. The sneers, therefore, which occur in Attic writers at the illiterate habits of the rival republic, must, with due allowance for much absurd exaggeration, be understood to apply solely to the neglect of elegant literature. In the page of authentic history, wherever a necessity for reading or writing occurs, the Spartan is always found quite as

[1] Polit. v. ix. p. 185. Tauchn.; Plut. in Lyc. VII.; Heraclid. Polit. III. p. 7. ed. Schneidewin, conf. p. 50.

[2] Herodot. I. lxv.; Xenoph. Lac. Pol. VIII.; conf. Müll. Dor. III. vii. 1.

[3] Plut. Lyc. XVI., conf. XXVI. sq.; Instit. Lacon. p. 237 A.

[4] Heraclid. Polit. III.; Strab. X. p. 482.

well qualified as the Athenian.[1] There is also high authority[2] for the belief, that it was "the fashion" among the Spartans to affect a greater contempt for polite learning than they really entertained. They were certainly distinguished for zeal in collecting and preserving antient oracular and other sacred documents.[3] Such were the reputed "skins" of Epimenides, of Pherecydes, and of the antient Laconian seer Anthes, which were covered with prophetic writing[4]; obviously parchment manuscripts of their works. Hence, also, the importance attached by Cleomenes, on his occupation of Athens, to the oracular collection of the Pisistratidæ, the only trophy which he was at pains to carry off.

Laws of Lycurgus.

The laws of Lycurgus are vulgarly supposed not to have been written, and one of the principal Rhetræ or Delphic decrees by which the divine sanction was imparted to his code, and which formed the basis of its enactments, was to the effect, that the laws were to be recorded only in the breasts of the citizens.[5] The genuine character of these Rhetræ is beyond question, as well from its having been acknowledged by Aristotle as from the evidence of their own rude dialect, the interpretation of which taxed the ingenuity even of that acutest of critics.[6] It is clear that this prohibition implies, in its own terms, a familiarity with letters among the people to whom it is addressed.[7]

[1] See Appendix K. [2] Plat. Prot. p. 342. [3] Herodot. v. xc., vi. lvii.

[4] Conf. Urlichs. Rhein. Mus. 1847, p. 219. sq.; Nitzsch. Hist. Hom. p. 160.

[5] Plut. vit. Lyc. xiii.; conf. Lac. Apophth. p. 227.

[6] Ap. Plut. in vit. Lycurg. vi. xiii.

[7] A similar inference results from another law ascribed to Lycurgus by Plutarch (in vit. xvii.), to the effect that the name of no male citizen was to be inscribed on his tomb unless he had fallen in battle, and that of

It is also certain that the Rhetræ themselves were written from the first. That they were, like other more antient oracular edicts, in prose, and hence not calculated for poetical transmission, is stated by Plutarch [1], whose authority is confirmed by their remains. In fact, Plutarch himself, throughout his remarks on them [2], alludes to them as recorded in writing, and describes Polydorus and Theopompus, who reigned about a century after Lycurgus, as adding a supplement to those already written by the lawgiver.[3] Any apparent discrepancy between these notices may be explained, as Plutarch has also explained it, by reference to the distinction habitually drawn between the Rhetræ, or fundamental statutes on which the constitution was based, and the laws (νόμοι) for its administration. The former were, as divine ordinances, to be preserved with the same care as other sacred documents, while the details of legislation arising from them were to become matter of inveterate custom. A somewhat similar distinction seems to be drawn by Plato in his Republic [4]; a system which, in its principles, conforms in a great degree to the Spartan model. In that system, the ordinary details of law were not necessarily required to be reduced to writing, but might be left to the common sense of the citizens or to the discretion of intelligent judges. The oracular edicts of Apollo, on the other hand, here as with Lycurgus the basis of the whole, were to be carefully registered. But, whatever may have been

no female citizen but such as had filled the office of priestess. Conf. Plat. de Legg. 858 E.

[1] De Pyth. Orac. p. 403. sq.; conf. Müll. Dor. I. vii. 3.

[2] Vit. Lycurg. VI.

[3] Vit. Lyc. XIII.

[4] p. 425 B.; conf. p. 427 B.; and still more distinctly by Aristotle, Polit. IV. ii. p. 113. Tauchn.

the case in the old system of Lycurgus, it appears certain, that, long before the days of Plato, even the ordinary laws were as carefully written at Sparta as in other Greek states. The Rhetra, therefore, against written legislation, can, in later times, have possessed authority only in the spirit of its enactment, as inculcating the principle that the best or only real security for the observance of the laws was that they should be engraved on the hearts of the people. In the familiar allusions of classic authors of the best period, especially of Plato [1], the laws of Lycurgus are always spoken of, even in the ordinary sense of the term Law, as written; and occasional decrees, treaties of peace, and other diplomatic contracts, were as habitually and regularly recorded in writing in Sparta as in Athens.[2] Pausanias[3] states that it was customary in Lacedæmon, in expediting public documents, to use the seal of king Polydorus, who flourished in the eighth century B.C. This practice could hardly have originated in any other circumstance than that the antient state seal dated from the time of that sovereign, and, consequently, that public ordinances requiring to be sealed were then more or less common in Sparta. In fact, although among primitive nations popular custom may obtain nearly as inveterate a stamp of law as written enactments, there is something almost absurd in the notion of a specific code, drawn up by a formally appointed legislator, being, in any age, either promulgated or perpetuated otherwise than in writing. It is at least abundantly clear, from the whole tenor of Aristotle's commentaries on the subject, that his notion of a "legislator," in the

[1] Legg. p. 858. [2] See Appendix K. [3] III. xi. 8.

more technical sense, was restricted to authors of written codes.[1] It is further evident, that the drawing up of any one of these codes, the redaction to a specific form of the more complicated obligations of the citizens towards each other or the state, implies a previous partial registration of the more fundamental principles of equity and civil government on which the constitution was based. Accordingly, Demosthenes quotes a written law of Athens long prior to Draco; and many such had doubtless been recorded at Locris before the time of Zaleucus[2], or even at Sparta before the time of Lycurgus. It is also remarkable, that the legislators mentioned by Aristotle as next in antiquity to Lycurgus, Phidon of Argos (748 B.C.), and Philolaüs, a fugitive member of the Corinthian Bacchidæ who about the XIIIth Olympiad (724 B.C.) compiled a code for the Thebans, were both, like Lycurgus himself, Peloponnesian Dorians. These facts, together with the foregoing illustrations of the monumental remains of the Dorian peninsula, and of the encouragement afforded by the same Spartans and Corinthians to the early masters and improvers of

Other early codes. Phidon. Philolaüs.

[1] Conf. his own or his disciples' definition of the term Law: *Νόμος ἐστὶ πόλεως ὁμολόγημα κοινόν, διὰ γραμμάτων προστάττον*, κ.τ.λ. Rhetor. ad Alex. I. 5. See also Plato de Legg. passim.

[2] The fable of Zaleucus (660 B.C.) having been the author of the "first written law," a fable partially countenanced by Strabo (conf. Bentley, Opusc. ed. Lips. p. 339.), is evidently founded, as appears from another notice by the same Strabo (VI. p. 260.), on the circumstance of Zaleucus having first carried his enactments into details not used to be provided for by previous lawgivers. It had been customary before his time for the written criminal law to be confined to the specification of what constituted a crime or offence deserving of punishment. The punishment to be awarded in each case was left to the discretion of the judge. Zaleucus, followed by Draco and other legislators, prescribed also the kind and degree of punishment to be inflicted on account of each offence. Conf. Nitzsch. de Hist. Hom. § XVI.

lyric composition, shed a friendly gleam of light over the practice of the liberal arts during this period even among the Dorian tribes, which the paucity of similar records precludes in the case of other states, where it is probable that those arts were still more studiously cultivated.

Want of convenient writing-material.

17. Another popular argument against the antiquity of Greek manuscript literature has been the want of convenient material.[1] The "wooden tables" on which Solon's laws were engraved have been more especially appealed to, as evidence of the rude mode of registering even the more important national records in the days of that legislator. How, then, it has been asked, could private individuals have been provided with competent means for cultivating the less necessary branches of the art? On the subject of Solon's tables little need here be added to what has been already remarked in a previous portion of this inquiry.[2] Like others of a similar character, they were intended for public exposure. That wood was preferred to metal or stone, in regard at least to the copies exposed in the popular places of assembly, may indicate either that the Athenians of those days were less studious of show and solidity in their state monuments than in later times, or that, for tables of this peculiar revolving form, the lighter material was more convenient. But it does not appear how this preference can bear on the question as to the greater or less abundance of paper or parchment at that period, neither of those materials being adapted for this particular purpose.

More important than any such subtle argument

[1] Wolf. Proleg. p. 60. 69.; Payne Knight, Proleg. §§ XXXVIII. LXXIII.

[2] Supra, p. 416. sqq.

based on the material of the tables is the just inference to be derived from the work to which that material was subservient. The framing of such a code is in itself a guarantee of the universality of the art of reading among the citizens for whom it was destined. The code of Solon was also substituted in the place of another of more antient date, which had been found defective. It was confessedly drawn up in consequence of a clamorous demand by the multitude for some larger and more definite security for their rights against the overbearing influence of the upper classes. A clamour for a new code of written laws could hardly have arisen among a people who were themselves unable to read them. The very machinery of Solon's legislation, the distribution of the citizens into classes according to a nice valuation of their properties, with proportional rates of public burthens, and the registration of their numbers, ranks, and liabilities [1], presupposes numerous scribes and plenty of convenient writing-material, without which no such system could ever have been practicable. That written testaments were common in Solon's time, little less so probably than in this country at the pre-

[1] These remarks apply with equal or similar force to the legislative codes of Lycurgus, Phidon, and Philolaüs, as described by Plutarch, Aristotle, and others. (Plut. vit. Lyc. VIII.; Aristot. Polit. II. iii. ix. p. 42. 68. sq. ed. Tauchn.; conf. Müll. Orchom. p. 401. sqq. 2nd ed.; Thirlw. Hist. of Gr. vol. I. p. 432. 1st ed.; Clint. F. H. vol. I. p. 248.) See also Niebuhr, Röm. Gesch. vol. III. p. 350., concerning the census of Servius Tullius: "The custom of registering judicial proceedings dates from remote antiquity; the census alone occasioned an immense deal of writing." Servius was nearly contemporary with Solon; and it is not very likely that, at a period when the semibarbarous Romans had an organised system of public diplomacy, the whole legislation of Athens should have worked on no better machinery than a set or two of wooden blocks. For some further notices of the advanced state of the art of writing, and of the existence of Greek books, even in Rome, in the age of the Pisistratidæ, see Nieb. op. cit. vol. I. p. 256. sqq. 511. 526. sqq.

sent day, appears from his law regarding the disposal of intestate property as quoted by Demosthenes.[1] The number and minuteness of the distinctions contained in that law show that the class of documents for the want of which it provided must have been themselves often of an extended and complicated nature.

The difficulties as to writing-material, to which so great importance has sometimes been attached in connexion with this question, have in fact little foundation but in the imagination of their proposers. It is not easy to see how a people, at once the most ingenious in the world and the fondest of literary pursuit, should have found any serious obstacle interposed to the gratification of their taste by a want of mechanical aids, after other elementary refinements of manufacture had been carried even to the extent described by Homer. Still less probable does this appear in the case of a body of states so flourishing in every department of civilisation as were many of the Greek republics, both in Europe and Asia, not long after the poet's time: and, even had they been unable to supply their wants from their own resources, their commercial relations, to which Homer so frequently alludes, would have placed at their disposal the full benefit of the more advanced culture of the Eastern nations. Much of the reasoning upon this head has proceeded upon the false principle already pointed out, of adopting modern standards as a guide to our judgements on antient usage. Antiquity, to be judged aright, must be its own interpreter. The

[1] Cont. Makart. p. 1066. sqq.; conf. Plut. vit. Sol. XXI. According to the lately popular doctrine of the school of Wolf and Payne Knight, a notary of the age of Solon or Pisistratus, when summoned to draw up a client's will, must have come provided with a slab of stone or wood instead of paper or parchment, with hammer and chisel instead of pen and ink, and with a mason or carpenter to act as his amanuensis.

Athenian method of ballot by scratching a name on a broken tile, or the still ruder practice of Syracuse, where olive leaves sufficed for the same purpose, may seem strange to a modern scholar writing at his ease in a well garnished library. In neither case, however, could this rusticity be owing to want of better material, since neat tesseræ of wood or bone, such as we might possibly use on a similar occasion, were as easily prepared in those days as now. The fact that the Petalismus[1] of Syracuse was established during the most flourishing age of Grecian literature suffices in itself to show the futility of the appeals made to sundry traditions of an occasional use, in early times, of lead, linen, bark, or leaves of trees, for writing-material, as indicating illiterate habits at the period to which those traditions relate. The same line of reasoning would prove Syracuse to have been in no better case in the days of Dionysius.[2]

A passage

18. There is a passage of Thucydides showing in

[1] A similar form of vote prevailed about the same time in Athens, under the title of *ἐκφυλλοφορία*.

[2] With whatever levity the notion of leaves, bark, or other "rude" substances having been used for literary purposes by the primitive Greeks may have been treated by Wolf and his disciples (Prolegg. p. 59. sq.), both historical testimony and the existence of numerous MSS. in a high state of preservation abundantly prove the great perfection to which the manufacture of "paper" from those substances has been carried by various nations. (Conf. Montfauc. Palæogr. Gr. p. 13. sqq.; Caylus, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. vol. xxvi. p. 271.; Nieb. Röm. Gesch. vol. i. p. 527.; Encycl. Brit. 1st ed. art. Paper.) Names can here avail but little. As to bark, however, the Latin word Liber is a living monument in its favour. The author of this work has seen voluminous Indian manuscripts, of as great beauty and delicacy as any of our parchment codices, on the leaves of the palm, or of other Oriental trees of kindred species. And what, after all, was the celebrated Egyptian paper but split bulrush? and the modern still more improved material is but old rags.

of Thucydides.

a very curious manner how much more, in cases of this nature, may often depend upon incidental differences of manners or habits, than on other more fundamental causes. When the affairs of the Athenians before Syracuse began to wear a gloomy aspect, "Nicias," says the historian[1], "finding his embarrassments daily increase, sent frequent messengers to the Athenians, notifying what was passing, and that, unless the armament were speedily recalled or properly reinforced, its ruin was inevitable. But fearing lest his couriers, whether from want of eloquence or of judgement, or from a desire to shape their discourse to the popular inclination, might have misrepresented the state of the case, he wrote a letter, considering that in this way he would be best able to explain his own views, without risk of their perversion through the medium of an interpreter." Refer this description to the present day, and how strange does it appear. Let us imagine the commander-in-chief of a mighty armament, after sending a succession of verbal messages during the season to his government announcing the critical state of affairs, and having received no satisfactory reply, being at last reduced to the necessity of writing a dispatch! Had this passage occurred in the history of some more antient expedition of the republic, in the ante-Pisistratian æra, what a triumphant argument would it have supplied of the infrequency of writing and the deficiency of material in those early times. But how is it to be explained in the age of Thucydides? This anecdote offers a concise but vivid sketch of the spirit of the Athenian democracy, which required that even the most important state correspondence, the very essence of which in

[1] VII. viii.

other governments is secrecy, should be carried on by public "vivâ voce" communication. Even a courier was in his own sphere an orator and a demagogue; and this very letter, as appears in the sequel of the historian's narrative, was read aloud by the public crier in the market-place. The many-headed despot of the Pnyx would never have submitted to such an organised system of interference with his authority as the Spartan mode of secret diplomacy above described. The apparently needless simplicity of the Ostracism and Petalism might, perhaps, be accounted for by some similar point of democratical etiquette, which required that the material, like the exercise of the franchise, should be, in the strictest sense of the term, gratuitous.[1]

Parchment.

It is somewhat remarkable, however, that even those modern authorities by whom this employment of wood, stones, leaves, and other rude substances has been most pointedly pressed as an argument of the backwardness of the art of writing in Greece prior to the LIVth Olympiad, have not questioned the fact that a more or less abundant supply of papyrus or parchment was at the disposal of the Greek scribes upwards of a century earlier.[2] The evidence of this is, indeed, sufficiently conclusive. Herodotus[3] states that, in the remotest antiquity, "while papyrus was yet scarce," sheep and goat skins were used for manuscript purposes among his countrymen. He adds that the use of the latter kind of material was acquired by them from the same Oriental source whence they obtained the alphabet, and was still inveterate in

[1] So Niebuhr, Röm. Gesch. vol. I. note to p. 527.
[2] Wolf, Prolegg. p. 59. sqq.
[3] v. lviii.

some Eastern countries. The more copious supply of the Egyptian commodity, by which the parchment was superseded, is universally admitted to date from the epoch when a free access to the interior of Egypt was opened up to the Greeks by Psammeticus, and commercial factories of that people were settled at the mouth of the Nile, about the year 650[1] B.C. That before this time parchment was extensively used in Greece is evinced by the circumstance added by Herodotus, that the old-fashioned name for a book among the Ionians in his time was Diphthera, "a parchment," derived from the antient obsolete substance, just as the classical term Biblus was adopted from that afterwards introduced. Unless written works had abounded at the earlier period, the proper name borrowed from the former material could never have become so inveterate as to maintain its ground two centuries after the material itself had given place to papyrus. This statement of Herodotus is corroborated by the subjoined antient proverbs: Papyrus.

ὁ Ζεὺς κατεῖδε χρόνιος εἰς τὰς διφθέρας.[2]
Jupiter consulted his diphtheræ.

[1] Wolf, while not disputing this fact, infers (Prolegg. XVI.) from the rapidity with which the new material superseded the old, that the previous use of letters must have been very limited. This means, in other words, that eagerness to procure cheap and efficient aids to the exercise of an art, and the ready and speedy abandonment in their favour by a whole nation of a former less commodious practice, are to be held as proof of the little prevalence or popularity of the art itself. Let the same test be applied to any existing art or custom whatever, and will not the very reverse be the more reasonable conclusion? Upon Wolf's principle, the ready abandonment of sailing vessels and stage coaches for steam conveyance must be a proof how little taste there was for travelling in England before the introduction of the improved mode of communication.

[2] Diogen. III. 2. ap. Gaisf. Paræm. Græc. p. 174.

ἀρχαιότερα τῆς διφθέρας.[1]
More antient even than diphthera.

The first shows that the oldest oracular books were of parchment; the second, that parchment manuscripts of a remote date were extant in later times, and proverbial for their great antiquity. The term Diphthera is also employed by Euripides[2] to designate the primeval collections of prophetic edicts. That oracular decrees were transmitted in writing from the remotest period is certain. Reference has already been made to the Rhetræ of Lycurgus. Herodotus also describes the answers of the various Greek oracles to Crœsus as written documents.[3] Decrees of such importance and sanctity could hardly, under any circumstances, have been confided to the mere memory of a messenger. Even if their enigmatical character could have admitted of their being conveyed with reasonable accuracy through such a medium, the great length of some of them would have been a serious obstacle. The Pythoness must have employed a large part of her time in conning over with her consulters the decrees of the god; an occupation not very compatible with the dignity or solemnity of oracular announcement. Another proof that oracular injunctions were habitually committed to writing is the fact stated by the most learned antient investigator of this subject[4], that, in the remoter periods of antiquity, they were, as a general rule, transmitted like the Rhetræ of Lycurgus in prose, and were not, consequently, adapted for preservation by memory alone.

[1] Gaisf. op cit. p. 53. 307. 191.

εἰσὶν γάρ, εἰσὶ διφθέραι μελαγγραφεῖς,
πολλῶν γέμουσαι Λοξίου γηρυμάτων.
Fragm. Plisthen. ap. Bothe. p. 219.

[3] Herodot. I. xlviii.

[4] Plut. de Pyth. Orac. p. 403 F.

Memorial recitation and rhapsodism.

19. It still remains to consider one of the most popular arguments against the antiquity of writing in Greece, that derived from the prevalence of public rehearsal or rhapsodism, as a favourite mode of promulgating or transmitting to posterity works of popular literature during this early period.[1] Imperfect as are the existing notices of this practice, there can yet be no reasonable doubt that it prevailed to a great extent in Greece during many ages, and that it had its origin at a time when neither the art of writing nor the means for the exercise of that art were common. It has, however, been abundantly shown in the foregoing pages, that customs originating in necessity may often, from habit, national taste, or other causes, be maintained or even extended in general use long after such necessity has ceased to exist. Of this truth the practice of rhapsodism here in question supplies another illustration, since it is certain that, in respect both to the older national poems and to new compositions of a lower date, it remained in full force as late as the age of Plato. If, then, as results from the tenor of the previous inquiries, the epoch at which pliable writing-material, whether parchment or papyrus, became more or less common in Greece may, even on the least liberal estimate, be safely carried back to the eighth century B. C., it may as safely be assumed that the more intelligent class of Greek citizens would have been as little disposed in those days, as in the days of Plato, to despise the facilities thus afforded for securing to themselves the personal possession or private enjoyment of works of genius, merely because the old custom of oral recitation continued inveterate in popular use. It might with

[1] Wolf, Prolegg. § XXII. sqq.; P. Knight, Prolegg. §§ XXXVIII. LXXII

better reason be urged that the extensive prevalence of that custom would in itself be favourable to the progress of writing, necessity suggesting the one practice as an aid to the other. Whatever may be said of the powers of memory in primitive times, this faculty is not essentially connected with poetical talent. It might often happen that poets of excellent genius, or rhapsodists highly favoured by voice, manner, and other accomplishments, had but indifferent memories; and, if they found more difficulty than their fellows in retaining their compositions, they would not fail to resort to the aids within their reach for making good the deficiency. The obligation to extemporaneous rehearsal, instead of an obstacle, would thus prove a stimulus to the art of writing. That the same was the case in the early ages of Roman literature is implied by the fact, that in the antient dialect of Latium the term Scribe signified also Poet. That the functions of poet and of pædagogue, or teacher of letters, went hand in hand in those early times, seems also probable, and is indicated perhaps in the legend of the Spartan poet Tyrtæus, or even of Homer himself, having belonged to the latter profession. The parallel may be carried on to our own middle ages. The poetry of the French troubadours, the German minnesingers, and the British bards and harpers, was chiefly promulgated and enjoyed by open rehearsal. Yet the art of writing was, comparatively speaking, quite familiar in Europe in the age of those minstrels; and they were themselves probably among the persons most conversant with its mysteries, both as an aid to their studies and as a means of preserving their compositions.

Admitting all that has been urged as to the supe-

rior powers of memory in primitive ages, it would yet be very difficult to understand the transmission, by aid of that faculty alone, of so voluminous a library of compositions as it would be necessary to assume, had no more artificial expedient been at hand in Greece during the three centuries prior to the usurpation of Pisistratus. That the compositions of Homer and Hesiod, with some others of a peculiarly sacred and national character, may have been handed down in their integrity during a few generations by oral tradition alone may perhaps be imagined. But it is not so easy to comprehend how those of the multitude of inferior poets flourishing between the Dorian conquest and the middle of the sixth century B.C. could have been so preserved. Between these two dates there lived, besides the genuine Homer, of authors whose names were known and works extant in later times, Hesiod, Arctinus, Eumelus, Cinæthon, Stasinus, Asius, Hagias, Pisander, Lesches Lesbius, Chersias, Callinus, Archilochus, Simonides, Tyrtæus, Terpander, Alcman, Arion, Xanthus, Stesichorus, Alcæus, Sappho, Epimenides, Mimnermus. To this list must be added a number of poems ascribed to Homer, Hesiod, Orpheus, Musæus, and other fabulous bards, poems which, though spurious, were of great antiquity; and many more, the Minyas, Naupactica, and the like, of uncertain character and author. All appeal to the primitive powers of memory must here be at fault. Neither precedent nor reason can justify the belief of a whole literature of this nature having been matured and preserved by such means. In a succession of several centuries, among a people equally fond of poetry and of novelty, although a few first-rate bards might continue to be preferred, the older poet of secondary rank would

naturally give place to the new, and the rhapsodists would abandon the study of the one for that of the other accordingly. In modern times the case is parallel. Although a few standard authors of primitive ages continue to maintain their ground in the every-day usage of the reading public, yet the great mass of literary performances, giving place to the ephemeral popularity of each other, are in their turn successively laid on the shelf, where they are only sought out by the more curious student, for whose use they are preserved in a written form. But this laying on the shelf would be far more fatal in an age of pure rhapsodism than in one of book-making. If once erased from the tablets of the memory, to make way for some more popular novelty of the day, the work of the old poet would have been lost for ever. The preservation, therefore, of so numerous a body of second-rate poems, many of them possessing no recognised claim to general popularity, and of a very voluminous nature, may be considered in itself indirect evidence of their having been written. The peculiar character of some of the most celebrated works of this period places the improbability of their preservation by any other means in a still stronger light. Whatever may have been the case with legends of heroic adventure or with sacred hymns, it is scarcely credible that tissues of dry genealogical commonplace, such as were in a great measure the Corinthiaca, Naupactica, and Hesiodic Catalogues; or volumes of calumnious satires and lampoons, such as those of Archilochus, for the most part on subjects of mere local or private interest, could have been transmitted entire to a late posterity by extempore rehearsal alone. Nor were it easy to understand how

so many subtle varieties of metre, comprising, in fact, the whole complicated theory of Greek lyric combination, could have been invented and matured by Archilochus and his contemporaries or immediate successors without a copious supply of mechanical aids to their studies. The reduction of the art of music to fixed principles and technical rules, which is also admitted to have taken place in the early part of the seventh century B.C., no less imperatively demanded a familiar practice of writing, and a supply of convenient material. The Greek system of musical notation, forming the basis of that still in use, and understood to be the invention of Terpander (676 B.C.), also contains evidence, in the forms of its ciphers[1], that the alphabet had in the days of that artist already undergone some of the changes and refinements referred to in an early chapter of this work.

It is certain that, even in more advanced stages of Hellenic culture, the circulation of complete copies of voluminous works was, comparatively speaking, limited, and that they were enjoyed rather through the medium of the ear than of the eye. The case here is analogous to that formerly illustrated, of the preference of marble and stone, at every period of classical antiquity, to parchment and papyrus, for the promulgation of public registers. In the same way, the popular mode of enjoying literary productions by recitation was continued, from habit, long after written copies

[1] Several of these ciphers appear to be variations of the old Phœnician elements Koppa, Vau, San, which went into desuetude at a remote period. There seems no other conceivable motive for the application of these elements to this new object, in preference to other alphabetic signs, than the circumstance of their having been, at the period of that application, no longer required for purely literary purposes. (See Boeckh, Staatsh. vol. II. p. 387.)

were multiplied. This peculiarity of antient usage may be traced to various causes, the influence of which is little felt, or altogether imperceptible, in the present age. The publicity of social life, partly a consequence of republican manners, partly of the genial character of the people and of their climate, led the Greeks to cultivate in the open air and in large assemblies pursuits which are now exercised in solitude or retirement. Their popular literature was itself of an essentially national character, and interwoven with their civil or religious solemnities. Hence even prose compositions, which could not be recited without book, were read aloud for the benefit of the multitude; and controversies which would now be carried on by pamphlets were managed by open disputation of the parties, pitted against each other in places of public resort. Still, in all these cases, the works were not only written by their authors, but copies of them, comparatively speaking, were as generally possessed as now by men of literary habits. The ease with which the rhapsodist declaimed was as much the result of study as the readiness of dramatic dialogue, while the fluency of oratory smelt more of the lamp in the senate of Athens or Rome than in the parliament or courts of Westminster. The assumption, therefore, that the voluminous poets or voluble rhapsodists of the eighth or ninth centuries B. C. were without copies of their works, merely because the public at large were made familiar with them through open rehearsal alone, were a fallacy differing only in degree from a like inference as to the professional men of letters in the Periclean or the Augustan age.

Laws set to music.

The tradition that, in early times, laws were occasionally embodied in verse, and sung in festive

assemblies, has been prominently urged among the objections of this class to the early spread of writing.[1] As among the Greeks every object of national interest, religious doctrines and rites, the glories of the gods or heroes, and the arts or institutions derived from them, became matter of poetical celebration, it could hardly fail to happen that much not improperly comprehended under the general term "law" would be versified and sung.[2] But the fallacy of any inference from this practice against the early use of letters is curiously evinced by the fact, that the only historically substantiated case of such juridical rhapsodism is that of certain laws of Charondas[3], an Italo-Greek legislator, whose code was distinguished above all others by the specific character of its enactments enforcing literary instruction.

Lateness of prose composition.

20. It is a judicious remark, that the introduction of prose composition, as a branch of popular literature, was a consequence of the more extended use of writing and of the increase of convenient material; but it by no means follows that it would be an immediate consequence. Much must here, as in other similar cases, be attributed to the influence of habit and taste. Before the time of Aristotle, there is no record of any grammar, vocabulary, or other works of a technically grammatical nature, such as afterwards occupied so large a space in every Greek library; yet, unless such compositions had been abundant long before, letters could hardly have been taught at all.

[1] The very natural confusion of the term *νόμος*, in its twofold sense of law and of musical arrangement, has here been a fertile source of error and subtlety. Conf. Nitzsch. de Hist. Hom. §§ x. xii.

[2] The metrical grammars common in modern education might be cited in the way of analogy.

[3] Hermipp. ap. Athen. xiv. p. 619.

The progress of taste, however, had not yet made them a distinct department of literature. The case of prose composition is analogous. Epistolary or diplomatic communications, inclusive, it would appear, of oracular edicts[1], public records, codes of laws, and other strictly useful documents, were, there can be no reasonable doubt, written in prose from a very remote period. But it might not be until long after such adaptation of the alphabet to necessary purposes, that the public of primitive Greece would become alive to the charm of prose style as a branch of elegant composition.

This exclusive prevalence of poetry as the popular literature of the Greeks, up to so late a period, is certainly in itself a striking and interesting peculiarity of that people. It is one, however, which, while of great importance in the history of their literary genius, has but very little bearing on that of their alphabetic writing. The distinction here drawn may be illustrated by the comparison or contrast of the parallel period of civilisation among the neighbouring nations to the eastward. The popular Greek records of primitive national history, real or fabulous, were in early times, as we have seen, all but exclusively, voluminous epic poems. There existed no prose work on the same subjects prior to the age of Solon. The historical records of the Hebrews, Phœnicians, and other Aramaic nations, during the corresponding periods of their literature, were, on the other hand, all but exclusively, prose compositions. Their poetical records

[1] That such was the case with the greater number of the more antient oracles, inclusive of the Rhetræ of Lycurgus, is asserted by Plutarch (De Pyth. Orac. p. 403 E.), on the authority of writers who had specially investigated this branch of literary antiquity.

of the same age consist but of a few popular songs or ballads, introduced here and there to adorn or illustrate the prose narrative. To whatever other cause this difference in the practice of the two races may be attributable, it cannot assuredly be accounted for by any great superiority in the stock of writing-material at the disposal of the Canaanites in the days of Moses, beyond that accessible to the Greeks in the time of Homer, Arctinus, or Eumelus. The further investigation of the real cause belongs, however, to the ensuing portion of this work, devoted to the history of Greek prose composition.

Writing in Homer's time.

21. It now remains to bring the foregoing results to bear on the question which has of late obtained so great, or almost exclusive, a prominence in this inquiry, but which, for reasons already stated, has here been treated merely as an element of the general history of the art of writing: When, and under what circumstances, was the benefit of that art first extended to the poems of Homer?

It will not, it is hoped, be necessary here further to discuss the once popular paradox of the Iliad and Odyssey having been first written out at Athens in the LIVth Olympiad, 560 B.C. The supposed historical testimonies in favour of that theory were disposed of in an early stage of this work: and, if there be any weight in the evidence already adduced of a general application of the art of writing to so many much humbler purposes centuries before the above date, it were superfluous to argue that the highest national standards of religion and history, as well as of style, the Greek Bible, as they have been emphatically designated by Wolf, would never have been denied every security which the alphabet afforded for

their genuine transmission. The inquiry, as affecting the Iliad and Odyssey, will therefore here be limited to the remoter ages of their history, inclusive of the very nice question, whether, or to what extent, they were committed to writing by their author.

Attention will first be directed to the arguments on the negative side. Those to which the greatest or only real importance attaches are derived from the poems themselves, and may be summed up as follows:

"Nowhere throughout the Iliad or Odyssey is there any allusion to alphabetic writing; nor does the state of society represented in those poems justify the belief of that art having been practised in Greece in the time of Homer. Had the case been otherwise, the general course of his narrative would have offered appropriate or unavoidable occasions for such allusion. Amid frequent mention of tombs or sepulchral columns none occurs of monumental inscriptions, none of any use of letters in the transactions of commerce or civil government. It is true that one distinct notice of epistolary correspondence[1] is found

[1] In the whole series of subtleties by which this controversy has been distinguished, the following of J. J. Rousseau, eagerly adopted by Wolf, is certainly one of the most unfortunate: "J'ose avancer que toute l'Odyssée n'est qu'un tissu de bêtises et d'inepties, qu'une lettre ou deux eussent réduit en fumée." Granting the validity of such an argument in any case, it so happens that the peculiar character of the plot of the Odyssey renders it quite inapplicable to that poem. Between the departure of Ulysses from Troy and his emancipation from the bower of Calypso, any communication with his home by such means was impossible, unless indeed it be supposed that post-office packets plied between the island of the enchantress and the port of Ithaca. After the hero's return, his object was concealment, not discovery. The fallacy of the quibble must indeed be apparent to any impartial scholar who reflects that, in the age even of Thucydides or of Cicero, a confidential letter required also a confidential

in the Iliad. But the characters there described appear to have been symbolic, not alphabetic; and afford, by consequence, evidence adverse rather than favourable to the poet's knowledge of the more improved practice. This silence becomes the more significant from the prominence given by him to other customs which in early times supplied the place of writing. Such are his frequent appeals to oral tradition as the sole means of transmitting legendary lore. The Muses are the daughters of Memory; while poets describe themselves as singers, and invoke the aid of those goddesses in giving permanence to their compositions."

In order rightly to estimate the force of these objections, some previous understanding is necessary in regard to the question, how far, as a general rule, Homer's silence concerning arts which, if commonly cultivated in his time, must have been familiar to him, is to be considered as the result of ignorance, how far of caprice, accidental omission, or other causes. No impartial judgement can be passed in any one such case, unless upon some principle equally applicable to all. It is, however, certain, that in a number of parallel cases the alternative of caprice or accident is forced upon us, either by the extreme improbability, amounting to a moral impossibility, of the poet's ignorance, or by his mention of other arts or customs, the existence of which necessarily implies that of the particular one in question.

messenger. Taking the matter, therefore, even on the very absurd footing on which Rousseau has placed it, there could hardly have been any purpose served by writing which would not have been equally or more surely provided for by the dispatch of one of the hero's trusty followers. Vid. Wolf, Prolegg. p. xci. note.

For example: among the arts of civilised life, painting is certainly one which Homer, if familiar with it, might be supposed least likely, in compositions so rich in miscellaneous illustration, to pass over unnoticed; yet in both poems there reigns so complete a silence as to that art, as to have led writers on its history to assume that its first practice in Greece was posterior to the poet's age. In the Iliad, however, Helen and Andromache are described as engaged in works of variegated tapestry, of such a nature as to prove that manufacture to have been carried to a degree of perfection which necessarily presupposes a corresponding advance in the art of painting.[1]

The animal diet of the Greeks in peace or war is confined by Homer to the flesh of domestic quadrupeds, oxen, sheep, goats, hogs. Upon no occasion of the greatest festivity, in his frequent and minute recapitulations of the delicacies enjoyed by his heroes, is there an allusion to game, venison, poultry, or fish; viands considered, in every age and state of society, essential to good cheer.[2] The only exceptions to the rule tend to confirm it. Ulysses, when hard pressed for subsistence on a barbarous coast, kills deer in the woods and eats their flesh[3]; as he also, in a still more pressing emergency, catches and eats fish and winged game.[4] To conclude, however, that the Greeks, in Homer's time, repudiated all animal food but beef, mutton, and pork, were absurd. The only just inference is, that it suited the peculiarity or the caprice of Homer's taste, in his ordinary descriptions of civilised life, to

[1] Il. III. 125.; conf. XXII. 440.
[2] See Plato, Rep. p. 404. on this Homeric peculiarity.
[3] Od. X. 157. sqq.
[4] Od. XII. 330.

limit the fare of his heroes to the flesh of domestic quadrupeds.

A similar example of silence occurs in regard to boiled flesh. On no occasion is any person described as eating animal food otherwise than roasted. Yet the, in itself most improbable, inference, that the other mode of cookery was unknown in Homer's time, is excluded by his mention of a bubbling pot full of boiled meat, as an illustrative image.

The analogy between these cases (to which others might be added) and that here more immediately in point is obvious. If the argument in favour of ignorance be not conclusive in respect to the more popular arts of painting or cookery, still less can it be held so in regard to the more subtle, and in all ages essentially unpoetical, art of writing. If Helen, in spite of the poet's silence as to painting, could embroider on a large piece of tapestry the adventures of the Trojan war, Homer, in spite of his silence as to writing, might record them on a few large sheets of diphthera.

But, it may be urged, the negative argument is here confirmed by the poet's frequent allusions to Memory, the Muses, and the oral recital of his poems. There can, indeed, be no doubt that such phraseology, in the mouth of the primeval poets with whose spontaneous usage it originated, would indicate a lack of other expedients. But it must also be remembered that the same usage, when once established by those early minstrels, would remain inveterate with their successors, and has, in fact, so remained to this present day, as a courtesy of poetical language. Homer borrowed it from his predecessors the Phemii and Demodoci, and has trans-

mitted it, in his turn, to the Cyclic poets, to Antimachus, Apollonius Rhodius, Virgil, and, in the subsequent revolutions of European literature, to the modern schools of epic art. Before, therefore, any such argument against the use of writing could be fairly applied in any individual case, it would be necessary first to determine the period at which the phraseology in question forfeited its primary literal import, and assumed an artificial or conventional character; or, in other words, the period at which the increase and improvement of the art of writing and of its material were such, as to secure to the authors who still adhered to the old form of expression the means of written preservation for their works. This, however, is the very point the obscurity or uncertainty of which constitutes the whole difficulty of the present inquiry. The assumption, therefore, that the figurative allusion to Memory and the Muses as agents of poetical transmission is an index of illiterate habits in the case of Homer, rather than of Hesiod, of Stesichorus, or of Apollonius Rhodius, involves an evident fallacy[1]; two things, each of which requires a separate proof, being thus adduced as evidence of each other. But, apart from this consideration, there can be no doubt that in Homer's time, or long after more artificial resources were common among professional

[1] This fallacy has been judiciously guarded against by a distinguished French historian of the epic literature of our own middle ages, in terms which apply almost letter for letter to the present case: "De tout cela il résulte clairement une chose: c'est que dans la plupart des Romans qui nous restent aujourd'hui du Cycle Carlovingien, la formule initiale qui les désigne comme devant être chantés, comme expressément faits pour l'être, ne doit plus être entendue à la lettre. C'est évidemment une formule imitée de compositions antérieures, auxquelles elle convenait plus strictement, par lesquelles elle avait été d'abord trouvée et employée." — *Fauriel, Histoire de la Poésie Provençale*, 1847, vol. II. p. 290.

men of letters, the old popular mode of enjoying poetical productions would still so greatly predominate among the mass, as amply to bear out the propriety of the phraseology in question, not merely in an imitative, but in a proper sense. With the public at large, Memory and the Muses were still the recognised modes of poetical circulation and transmission; nor would the most eccentric genius have had a fair pretext for inventing another set of mythological personages, such as nymphs of pen, ink, and paper, to officiate in the stead of those goddesses.

But, if stress be laid on the poet's negative evidence in any such matter, it may also be proper to consider how the case stands with regard to that other practice, by which the want of alphabetic writing is supposed, in his day, to have been supplied. Nowhere is there a hint, in either poem, of those "colleges" of rhapsodists to which, in the modern schools, such momentous functions have been assigned, as conservators of the national library. Poets are described by Homer as reciting their own works; but there is no allusion to persons professionally employed in committing to memory the compositions of others.[1] The general tenor of the authorities on the subject seems rather to warrant the belief that the rhapsodist profession, in the technical sense, is of recent date, and represents an artificial state of the epic art, the

[1] It has, in fact, in an unguarded moment, been observed by Wolf himself (Prolegg. p. 99.), that, in the Homeric age, the rehearsals of the bards were confined to their own poems, and that the subsidiary order of minstrels, who acted as agents for the posthumous transmission of standard works, dates from the time of Terpander. How then, the question naturally occurs, were Homer's works preserved between the date of his own death and that of this important change in the primitive practice?

first traces of which coincide with an age when no question can exist of letters having been abundantly cultivated.

Letters of Bellerophon.

22. The foregoing illustrations have proceeded on the basis of a general acquiescence in the popular rule or doctrine of the schools, which assumes an actual silence on Homer's part, throughout both his poems, relative to the art of writing. But this rule is liable, it is apprehended, to at least one very important exception, in the passage describing the epistle carried by Bellerophon from Prœtus of Corinth to Jobates king of Lycia; an exception, however, which, as already observed, has been turned to account of the negative argument, on the ground that the written characters there described were ciphers or symbols, not alphabetic letters.

While there is, certainly, no passage of either poem more replete than this very curious one with deep historical interest, there are few which have been more hastily judged or more generally misunderstood. The closer analysis of its niceties of idiom or phraseology, however indispensable to a right estimate of its bearings on the present question, has been reserved for another place.[1] It will here suffice to remark, that the result of that analysis amply justifies a conviction that the packet of Prœtus was a sealed letter of some length, alphabetically written; and that any obscurity or ambiguity in the poet's account of it arises from a corresponding ambiguity in the terminology of that early age of the art of writing. The version of the passage here subjoined, being framed by reference to this conviction, may hence be found little in harmony with the popular view of the subject. Its accuracy, however, both in the spirit and the letter, as referred

[1] See Appendix L.

to the idiomatic usage of the primitive age of literature in which the Iliad was composed, may be, and has been elsewhere, amply indicated.

Bellerophon, a young hero of Corinth, is beloved by Antea, wife of Prœtus lord of that city, and daughter of Jobates king of Lycia. On the refusal of Bellerophon to gratify her passion, she calumniates him to her husband. Prœtus, unwilling himself to lay violent hands on the youth, adopts a mode of disposing of him, which is thus described:[1]

He sent him to Lycia, the bearer of fatal letters[2],
Having written many things of pernicious import in a sealed tablet,
Which he charged him to present to the Lycian king, in order that he might be put to death. . . .
The king received him cordially,
And entertained him honourably during nine days.
But when the tenth morning arrived,
He questioned his guest, and asked to see the letter[3]
Of which he was the bearer from Prœtus;
But no sooner had the king received the evil letter of his son-in-law
Than he ordered Bellerophon. . . .

The only portion of the above passage on which it will be proper in this place to add a few words of commentary is the expression, "many things of pernicious import,"[4] applied to the contents of the tablet. The term θυμοφθόρα, here rendered "pernicious," may signify, according to its strict etymology, either soul-corrupting or life-destroying.[5] By modern commentators it has almost invariably been taken in the latter

[1] Il. vi. 168. sqq.
[2] σήματα; conf. Appendix L.
[3] σῆμα; conf. Appendix L.
[4] θυμοφθόρα πολλά.
[5] The noun θυμός, denoting the human soul or spirit, admits a two-fold application, either to the animal life or to the intellectual faculties and feelings. The verb φθείρω similarly denotes either to kill in a physical, or to corrupt in a moral, sense.

purely physical sense, apparently because Bellerophon's life was at stake in the transaction. The application, however, of such an epithet to a mere epistle containing matter calculated to instigate one man to put another to death, would be in itself little in unison with the general simplicity and propriety of Homer's idiom. The poet, accordingly, in every such case his own best interpreter, shows, by his use of the epithet in other parallel passages[1], that it was here also, in conformity with the general spirit of the narrative, employed in a moral sense, to indicate the pernicious effect which the "many things" written in the tablets were intended to produce on the mind of Jobates. Nor, indeed, whatever construction be put on the epithet, could the comprehensive plural predicate, of which it forms part, reasonably be understood in any other sense than as denoting either the number of reasons or instructions transmitted by Prœtus in his letter, or the number of the characters by which those reasons were expressed. In either case, the expression were equally incompatible with any species of barbaric symbol or picture-writing; and it has never been surmised, in any quarter, that the Greeks, in Homer's time, possessed a regular system of hieroglyphic literature. Nor is the generous conduct of the Lycian king, in the sequel, consistent with the belief that he would destroy a noble youth at the mere dictation of a capricious son-in-law, without some specific accusation or reason assigned. The "many things of soul-corrupting or calumnious import" can,

[1] In Od. iv. 716., xix. 323., the moral application of the epithet is obvious. In Od. ii. 329. it seems to be used in a physical sense, although even here perhaps there may be room for the other interpretation.

therefore, only be intelligible as containing such a recapitulation of the calumny of Antea as would readily instigate a father to vengeance against the insulter of his daughter; and assuredly no such recapitulation was ever imagined by Homer as having been conveyed by means of a few rude pictorial characters, or by any other mode than that of alphabetic writing.

Other allusions to writing by Homer.

There is another passage of occasional occurrence in both poems, which can hardly be interpreted but as allusive to written documents. It is where the destinies of the heroes, or, in other words, the written decrees of Fate relative to those destinies, are said "to lie on the knees of the gods."[1] The Greeks, in every age, were in the habit of writing and reading with their books or papers resting on their knees. In various classical texts, comprising what is perhaps the earliest technical allusion to the habits of the literary profession[2], this custom is specified in terms almost identical with those employed by Homer. Still more immediately in point is a passage of the Republic of Plato[3], where the philosopher, in alluding to the judgement of mortals after death, describes Lachesis as holding "on her knees" the written reports of their

[1] *θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται.* Il. XVII. 514., XX. 435.; Od. I. 267. 400., XVI. 129.

[2] Batrachom. 2. sq.

εἵνεκ' ἀοιδῆς
ἣν νέον ἐν δέλτοισιν ἐμοῖς ἐπὶ γούνασι θῆκα.

Hippocrates (ad Demag. ed. Lugd. Bat. 1665, vol. I. p. 914.) says of Democritus: *ὁ δ' εἶχεν ἐν εὐκοσμίῃ πολλῇ ἐπὶ τοῖν γουνάτοιν βιβλίον.... (καὶ) ξυντόνως ἐγραφεν ἐγκείμενος.* This is also the attitude in which authors engaged in writing are represented in the decorative figures of antient manuscripts. See a figure of Dionysius of Halicarnassus ap. Montfauc. Palæogr. Gr. p. 23. sq.; and conf. Montf. ad loc.

[3] p. 617 D. *προφήτην.... λαβόντα ἐκ τῶν τῆς Λαχέσεως γονάτων κλήρους τε καὶ βίων παραδείγματα.*

past lives and future destinies. Add to this the antient proverb already quoted, where Jupiter is described as consulting, literally, "looking down into," his parchment roll of Fate.[1] The evidence of such a series of parallel texts would be held incontrovertible, regarding the sense of this primitive adage, in any case where no preconceived theories obstructed the free exercise of critical judgement. The other explanations of the passage proposed by the commentators are far-fetched or unmeaning.

Conclusion.

In drawing this subject to a close, there still remain to be considered certain more general points of circumstantial evidence in favour of at least a limited use of letters in Homer's day. It may safely be asserted, that, in every age and country, an advanced state of commerce and navigation requires a certain amount of literary culture. Alphabetic writing may not, perhaps, be indispensable. Its place might in some degree be supplied by less commodious methods; although no instance can be adduced of any nation dependant on those methods alone having been distinguished for zeal or success in commercial pursuits. Most consistently, then, are the Phœnicians, the first people on record as really distinguished by a spirit of mercantile enterprise, reported to have been also the "inventors" of the alphabet.[2] Whatever deference

[1] p. 467. supra; conf. Diogen. Prov. III. 2. ἡ διφθέρα· ἐν ᾗ δοκεῖ ὁ Ζεὺς ἀπογράφεσθαι τὰ γιγνόμενα· παμπάλαιος. Conf. Bothe. Frngm. Eurip. Melanip. 16. p. 175.

[2] The authorities, sacred or profane, on this point are too numerous and familiar to require citation. Yet Wolf does not hesitate to deny, even to the Phœnicians, any other mechanism for recording facts in Homer's time than that of Memory and the Muses. The Tyrian and Sidonian merchant princes who corresponded with Solomon are supposed by him to have employed in their voyages a poetical supercargo, or living log-book, on the tablets of whose memory were engraved

may be due to the letter of the tradition, its spirit, as intimating the first complete adaptation of the art to practical purposes, is conclusive. The poet's own descriptions evince, that, long before his time, Phœnician commerce had attained a high degree of that prosperity so much celebrated both in authentic history and in poetical fable. All the more refined articles of manufacture, not of native production, are described by him as imported from Phœnicia. The merchants of that country covered the Mediterranean with their ships, keeping up not only a direct intercourse with its coast and islands, especially those of Greece, but also a species of carrying trade between the less mercantile nations; performing, in fact, the same functions as the maritime states of Italy in our own middle ages. The universality of the practice of writing among the Phœnicians could not fail, therefore, to involve a greater or less acquaintance with it among a people so much connected with them as the Greeks, a people so distinguished also for curiosity and zeal in the pursuit of new and curious science. It cannot be doubted that Homer in particular owed much of his knowledge of maritime geography, real or fabulous, to his intercourse with these enterprising navigators.[1] Apart, therefore, from his opportunities at home, it were scarcely credible that a man of his genius, associating with a people who habitually wrote, should have remained himself illiterate. As to writing-ma-

invoice, bill of lading, freight, stowage, tonnage, custom-house and harbour dues, contracts, debts good and bad, and all the other transactions of a first-rate Sidonian house of business! His further illustration of the dealings of the Phœnician traders by those of the barrow-women in the Leipzig market-place, is in good keeping with his general argument. Prolegg. p. L.; conf. p. LXXXIX. note 33.

[1] See Appendix E. to Vol. I.

terial, the art of manufacturing parchment, the acquirement of which art from the Phœnicians by the Greeks was matter of remote tradition in the time of Herodotus when Phœnician commerce was on the decline, must have been in its most flourishing state in Phœnicia itself in the days of Homer. The Greeks, therefore, whatever their own domestic deficiencies, would be at no loss for a supply of writing-material from abroad. When, in the Odyssey, a Phœnician vessel, laden with "an infinity of curious merchandise," is described as lying during a whole year for the disposal of its cargo, as a sort of floating shop or bazaar, in the little port of Syros [1], opportunities could not be wanting to a poet of Smyrna or Chios for procuring the means of permanent preservation for his compositions. Nor, assuredly, would a poet such as Homer [2] have failed to turn those opportunities to their full account.

[1] Od. xv. 415. sqq. 455.: *μυρί' ἄγοντες ἀθύρματα.*
[2] See Appendix M.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A. (p. 36.)

ON THE RELATIVE AGES OF OLYMPUS AND TERPANDER.

THE priority of age assigned by K. O. Müller [1] to Terpander over Olympus is at variance with every fact or authority bearing on the subject. Müller's chief or only argument in favour of his own view is the invention by Olympus of the enharmonic scale, considered by the Greek musicians as the last and highest refinement of their purer system of music. This argument has been met by the observations in p. 40. sq. of the text, where it has been shown that not only the enharmonic scale, but all or most of the other fundamental elements of the antient art of music, existed previously to the age of Terpander in the schools of Asia; and that Terpander's science consisted, generally, much less in original discovery than in the adaptation of the technical practice of those schools to the more genial citharœdic taste and melody of the Greeks. The labours of Terpander himself, therefore, were no doubt founded in part on the enharmonic scale of Olympus. Had Olympus flourished after 644 B. C., the epoch assigned by Müller, though very erroneously [2], to the citharœdic improvements of Terpander; had he been consequently junior not only to Terpander himself but to Archilochus and Alcman, even possibly to Arion, it were difficult to see what room there could have been for those great inventive merits on which his fame rests, as the "originator (ἀρχηγός [3]) of the nobler style of Greek music."

Nothing can be more distinct or conclusive than the unanimity

[1] Hist. of Gr. Lit. p. 155. [2] See note 2. to p. 38. of the text.
[3] Plut. de Mus. XI. in fine; conf. XXIX. init.

with which, throughout the compilation of Plutarch, both he and the numerous prior authorities whom he quotes assign the precedence both of age and of inventive merit to Olympus over Terpander.[1]

APPENDIX B. (p. 43.)

ON THE EXPRESSIONS πρώτη AND δευτέρα κατάστασις IN PLUTARCH'S TREATISE ON MUSIC.

Modern authors on this period of the early history of Greek musical art, however differing on other points, are unanimous in understanding the terms πρώτη and δευτέρα κατάστασις τῶν περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ[2] as denoting, not, as assumed in the text above, the "establishment" of the two chief musical festivals of Sparta, the Carnea and the Gymnopædia, but two successive "systems" or theories of Hellenic musical art: the first that originally framed by Terpander; the second that of Thaletas, founded on the basis of that of Terpander, but modelled on new and improved principles. That this view is erroneous, and that preferred in the text alone correct, results from the following considerations:

The notion of these two successive "systems" of music is repugnant to the whole tenor both of Plutarch's treatise and of all other authorities on the subject, who are unanimous in representing the musical "system" of Terpander, Τερπάνδρειον τρόπον, as subsisting in its integrity during the whole flourishing age of Sparto-Dorian art, and the least innovation upon its fundamental principles as a corruption of the pure Greek music. Plutarch pointedly asserts[3] its having been maintained inviolable up to the time of Phrynis in the middle of the fifth century B. C., and specifies Polymnestus, one of the supposed coadjutors of Thaletas in supplanting it, as having himself conformed to it.[4] The prevailing interpretation therefore of the phrases first and second musical "catastasis," in the sense of two successive Spartan musical systems, the latter of which, by Thaletas, was an innovation upon that of Terpander, is quite untenable.

[1] Plut. locc. citt.; conf. IV. in fin. V. XVIII.
[2] Plut. de Mus. IX.
[3] De Mus. VI. initio.
[4] Op. cit. XII.

That the signification of the term Catastasis adopted in the text is the true one, is further evinced by the connexion in the chapter (ix.) of Plutarch here under consideration, between the phrases *πρώτη κατάστασις* and *δευτέρα κατάστασις τῶν περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ*, and the immediately following definitions *τὰ περὶ τὰς Γυμνοπαιδιάς, καταστῆναι τὰ περὶ τὰς Ἀποδείξεις τὰς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ*, and *τὰ ἐν Ἄργει Ἐνδυμάτια καλούμενα*. As the Gymnopædia, Apodexis, and Endymatia, with which the "Catastasis" of Terpander is compared, were all notoriously musical festivals, not theories or systems of music, it follows obviously that the Spartan Catastases were themselves nothing more than similar musical festivities; the Carnea, namely, and the Gymnopædia, the first and second institutions of the kind in Sparta, and at all times the most celebrated of that state. To this it may be added that the proper technical noun with Plutarch[1] to denote Terpander's musical "system" is *κιθαρωδία*; and that the technical verb used by him to denote the formation or establishment of such a system is *συστήσασθαι*, not *καθίστασθαι*.[2]

It may perhaps be urged that the Carnea are nowhere distinctly mentioned by name in connexion with the *πρώτη κατάστασις* of Terpander. But the inference that the two terms were synonymous is further borne out by Terpander's participation and triumph in the first celebration of the Carnea, and by the pointed manner in which the Lesbian school of citharœdic art, inherited from him, is described as having been upheld in the same Carnea by Lesbian professors. Thaletas and his four coadjutors, on the other hand, were notoriously "flute-players,"[3] and the less likely by consequence to have been authors of any material change in the purely citharœdic system of Terpander. In the Gymnopædia, accordingly, instituted by them, wind instruments were preferred. To the extension and improvement, therefore, of this martial and orchestic order of performance, not of the pure Terpandrian style, the new or second Catastasis of Thaletas must evidently be understood to refer.

Clinton (F. H. vol. i. p. 201.) seems to perceive the difficulty of the popular view which he follows, but makes no attempt to clear up that difficulty. To the prevailing misunderstanding of this single phrase Catastasis may be mainly attributed the failure of all attempts of modern commentators to bring into any sort of order the dates of these various masters or schools of music.

[1] See ch. vi. throughout. [2] De Mus. v. [3] Op. cit. vi.

APPENDIX C. (p. 51.)

ON THE TERMS DORIAN, PHRYGIAN, AND LYDIAN, AS APPLIED TO THE GREEK MUSICAL HARMONIES.

K. O. MÜLLER[1], in his zeal for the honour of his Dorians, so apt at times to sway his better judgement, strenuously upholds their pretensions to priority of invention, as well as purity of taste, in musical art. He argues that there must have been a primeval Dorian style, anterior to all others of Hellas, from the circumstance that of the three original harmonies, Dorian, Phrygian, and Lydian, the former alone has a Hellenic name. Terpander, therefore, according to him, merely improved, without fundamentally altering, the primitive Dorian style. Names, however, are but slender proofs in such cases. That of Dorian cannot, by reference to either facts or traditions, be understood in any other sense than as indicating the style or school which sprang up in Sparta and the Dorian states of Peloponnesus under the auspices of the Æolian Terpander, and was maintained by the Ionian Tyrtæus, the Æolian Alcman, and the Cretan Thaletas. Terpander's influence on the Spartan music is invariably represented, not as the mere improvement of a previous Dorian system, but as the introduction of an entirely new one. Had there been already a matured national system of music among the Spartans, identified, like their other public institutions, with the sympathies of the Dorian race, so sudden a deference on their part to the novelties of an Æolian master were scarcely conceivable.

The preference of the phrases Phrygian and Lydian, to those of Æolian and Ionian, to designate the Æolian and Ionian styles of art, originated probably with the Sparto-Dorians themselves. On the more marked subdivision of tastes subsequent to the settlement of their own system by Terpander, it was quite natural that they, as patrons of the nobler orders of performance, should characterise the less dignified practice of their Asiatic fellow-countrymen by terms significant of semibarbarous effeminacy.

[1] Dor. IV. 6. vol. II. p. 316. sqq.

APPENDIX D. (p. 191.)

ON THE AGE OF TYRTÆUS.

THE discrepancy in these accounts lies in the number of years assigned by each class of antient authorities[1] to the interval between the conclusion of the first and the commencement of the second Messenian war. This interval Pausanias makes about thirty-eight years; other data extend it to eighty or ninety. The latter view rests apparently on an exaggerated interpretation of a portion of a still extant address of Tyrtæus to his fellow-warriors of the second war, in which he describes their grandfathers as having brought the first to a glorious close. Reckoning the interval, in terms of this allusion, at three generations of the usual length of about thirty years each, the result would give the larger number of eighty or ninety years; and several modern chronologers have approved of this calculation. The utmost amount of interval, however, which a more critical estimate of the poet's expression warrants our adopting is sixty years. Assuming the average age of the warriors addressed by him to have been, at the period of their being so addressed, thirty years, their fathers, on the same genealogical ratio, would then have been sixty years old; their grandfathers, if alive, ninety. The latter would thus, upon the more prolonged computation of the interval, have been infants, not grown warriors, at the epoch when they are said by Tyrtæus to have brought the first war to a close: but, adopting sixty years as the interval, they would at that epoch have been thirty, the same age at which their descendants were then fighting in the second war.

This address of Tyrtæus must, however, under any circumstances, have been uttered at an advanced period of the second war, possibly towards its close, which consideration may go far towards making up the difference between the thirty-eight years of Pausanias and the genealogical sixty, which results from the foregoing computation. And if, as all authorities seem to agree, the king in whose reign the first war ended was grandfather of the one who conducted the second, Tyrtæus, however short the interval between the two might have been, could hardly, as the court poet, with any propriety have shaped a genealogical com-

[1] See the passages collected and collated ap. Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. I. p. 250. sqq.

putation of that interval, especially in a public address to the troops, in any other form than that adopted by him in the extant passage above referred to.

APPENDIX E. (p. 295.)

ON THE PERSONAL CHARACTERS OF ANACREON, ARCHILOCHUS, AND SAPPHO.

WELCKER [1] appears to go further in the case of Anacreon, and, if we have understood him aright, subscribes to the doctrine of several speculative Greek writers of a late period, who maintained that the Teïan poet not only possessed the good qualities which have in the text above willingly been conceded to him, but that even his defects existed only in his own pages. Although he spent a long life in celebrating and inculcating the broadest, and to modern taste most offensive, forms of immorality, and in boasting of his own debaucheries, it has yet been maintained that he was himself a man of temperate habits, and, in as far as deeds not words are concerned, of unblemished respectability in social life. While unable ourselves to participate in this opinion, we are willing to leave those who, after a careful perusal of the remains of Anacreon, can adopt it, to enjoy it undisturbed by any attempts to show its inaccuracy. We must, however, consider it as further proof of the fallacy of the amiable modern theory relative to Sappho, that essentially the same doctrine has been extended not only to the case of Anacreon, but to that of Archilochus. Welcker [2], on the authority chiefly of a text of Lucian, where Archilochus is pronounced a man of a "bold and free spirit" (as he unquestionably was), has also done his best to prove him to have been exempt from those vices of which Archilochus himself so loudly and ostentatiously boasted.

This theory, for it may be considered as *one* both in its tendency and in its general results, however creditable to the heart of its principal advocate, can here be considered in no other light than as fatal not only to the truth, but to the spirit, originality, and interest of the biographical element of Greek literary history

[1] Kleine Schr. vol. I. p. 255. sqq.
[2] Kleine Schr. vol. I. p. 80. sqq.

during this period; reducing, as it would, many of the most striking and brilliant eccentricities of Greek literary character to a single standard of insipid moral uniformity. It is with much regret that the author has found himself under the necessity of combating, in the leading advocate of this doctrine, the classical critic of his own day for whom he entertains the highest esteem, and to whose labours generally in the common field of research he feels himself under the deepest obligations.

APPENDIX F. (p. 318.)

ON THE LESBIAN VICE.

WELCKER[1], while admitting the Lesbian vice to form a subject of frequent allusion with satirical writers of every historical period of antiquity, denies any general prevalence of that vice in any part of Hellas at any period: he even appears to doubt its having existed, either in the circle of Sappho, or indeed in any other quarter but in the writings or the imaginations of those satirical authors. These doubts rest chiefly on the ground that, in the popular mythology or the popular poetry of Greece, it is nowhere celebrated or otherwise alluded to in the same familiar and indulgent manner as the parallel vice of the male sex. To this view we cannot subscribe: first, because the practices in question appear to us to be very familiarly and indulgently alluded to in the works of Sappho herself; and, secondly, because the brilliant and fantastic harangue on the subject, which Plato in his Convivium places in the mouth of Aristophanes, appears about as copious a poetical and mythological illustration as can reasonably be required, to warrant a belief in a certain prevalence and popularity of the thing so illustrated in the community for whose benefit the harangue of Aristophanes was intended. It is incredible that Plato would have introduced, as the seasoning of one of his most spirited dialogues, an elaborate allegorical description of the origin and spread among his countrywomen of a vice in the existence of which among them he himself did not believe; of a vice too which Welcker, in spite of Plato's own authority, would

[1] Kleine Schriften, vol. II. p. 84. sqq.

persuade us every Greek author of any higher refinement of taste looked on as so odiously unnatural, as to be only fit subject for allusion to the most licentious orders of satirists or sensualists.

That there occurs a far greater number of allusions in the Greek mythological and poetical literature to the male than to the female variety of Greek pæderastianism, is a fact which cannot indeed be disputed. It may, however, be explained in a more natural mode than that of assuming the latter variety to have had no real existence. In the first place, there can be no doubt that, like all other grosser kinds of profligacy, this particular one was at least far less prevalent among the female than among the male sex; especially in a country where the life and conduct of the women were under such jealous restrictions as in Greece. Another obvious reason may be found in the circumstance, that the popular writers by whom such excesses were celebrated were all but exclusively men; who found sufficient occupation for their muse in their own amorous adventures and those of their boon companions, without being under any obligation or experiencing any strong inducement to look for similar subjects of erotic enlargement in the thalami or gynæcea of each other. It was also the less likely that they should be at pains to give poetical prominence to practices as little complimentary to their own masculine dignity as gratifying to their vanity. The existence, therefore, of even one Sappho is a fair proportion to that of fifty Anacreons or Theognides. But had the same freedom of female manners prevailed throughout Greece as in Mitylene during the flourishing ages of Greek lyric art, and had there been in every luxurious Greek city a female association of the same kind as that of which Sappho was the matron, and, like it, presided over by a brilliant poetess, the number of poetical allusions to the Lesbian vice would there can be little doubt have been greatly multiplied.

We shall dismiss this not very agreeable subject with one more remark, that, while entertaining all due abhorrence for both varieties of unnatural inclination, we are at a loss to see why that proper to the fair sex should be considered, as it has been by Welcker, an object of so much greater odium and reprobation than that which the lords of the creation, in the palmy days of classical antiquity, thought far from discreditable to themselves. Were it allowable in any such case to strike a balance of shades or degrees of vice, we should unhesitatingly pronounce that sanctioned by Sappho to be of the two by far the least offensive in

idea; and, under all the circumstances, considering the relative position of the sexes in Greece, by far the most venial of the two. We may add, what is probably known to most men who have lived much in the world during the last half century, that, at different epochs of that period, the "Lesbian vice" has not only prevailed to a greater or less extent in various European capitals, but has, in almost every such instance, numbered among its votaries females distinguished for refinement of manners and elegant accomplishments.

APPENDIX G. (p. 400.)

ON CADMUS.

SEVERAL distinguished modern scholars[1], with a laudable anxiety to trace Greek mythical tradition to native Greek sources, would convert Cadmus into an indigenous god or hero, derive his name from κάζω κέκαδμαι, and interpret it as denoting Improver, or Civiliser. In this case, however, the ingenious critics appear to have somewhat overstrained their in itself judicious line of doctrine. The combined evidence of Oriental etymology, of primitive Greek legend, of the Greek alphabet, and of Greek national conviction, is far too strong on the opposite side. One might, we apprehend, with about as much plausibility, set aside the reality of a settlement of "Northmen" in France in our own barbarous ages, assert the right of the modern Neustrians to rank as antient Gauls, and pronounce their name Norman a derivative from the Gallo-Roman term Norma, rule or dynasty. The historical evidence would be about as good in the one as in the other case; and the language of the Normans, when they first appear in authentic history, differs as little from the vulgar French, as that of the Cadmean Bœotians did from the Greek. The objection to the existence of a Cadmean colony, which has been grounded on the improbability of a purely agricultural settlement having been formed by so commercial a people as the Phœnicians, is partly met by the more

[1] Welcker, Ueb. eine Kretische Colonie in Theben; K. O. Müller, Prolegg. zu ein. Wissensch. Mythologie, p. 146. sqq.

liberal construction of the term Cadmus, or "Eastman," adopted in the text. The objection, indeed, would itself prove too much. It would equally set aside half the Dutch and English colonies of modern times. Cadmus and Danaus are never described in the tradition as mercantile adventurers, but as fugitive Syrian or Syro-Egyptian chiefs. Müller's derivation of the name of the Cadmean or Samothracian Kabiri, or "Great Gods," from *καίω*, to burn, rather than from the Phœnician Kabir, "Great," must also at once strike the Oriental scholar as an etymological fallacy.

APPENDIX H. (p. 424.)

ON THE TREASURY OF THE MEGARIANS AT OLYMPIA.

PHORBAS, fifth perpetual archon from Medon, flourished about 900 B.C. Boeckh[1], however, denies the antiquity of this building: "Sero enim illum Megarensium thesaurum conditum fuisse et ratio operis docet, et Pausanias significat verbis lacunosis: *τὸν δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ θησαυρὸν ἔτεσιν. . . . . ὕστερον τῆς μάχης ἐποίησαν οἱ Μεγαρεῖς.*" This notion of a date having fallen out after *ἔτεσιν* is groundless. The phrase *ἔτεσιν ὕστερον* is a common idiom with Pausanias[2], and other later Atticists, in the sense of *ἔτεσι τίσιν ὕστερον*, denoting "some years" or "a few years" afterwards. Boeckh further asserts that the "Dædalian" sculptor Dontas, mentioned by Pausanias as the author of the statues in the Treasury, and whom that antiquary evidently considered as of remote antiquity, belongs to a comparatively recent epoch. This assertion he grounds on the counter-authority of Pliny, who mentions a sculptor of the same name as flourishing in the sixth century B.C. It is evident, however, that Pausanias[3] assigned a remote antiquity to these statues, not so much on account of their imputed author as of their own style and material, which, from his mode of connecting them with the age of Dædalus, must obviously have borne a stamp of primeval art little consistent with the period to which Pliny assigns his Dontas. The statues were of cedar wood adorned with gold, the same material as that of the chest of Cypselus, and commonly used for the nobler

[1] Corp. Inscr. Græc. vol. i. p. 47.
[2] Conf. Paus. x. vii. 1. xvii. 3.
[3] II. xv. 1., III. xvii. 6.

works of glyptic art in primitive times. How either Treasury or spoils should have been dedicated in honour of any such victory, some four or five centuries after its achievement, were in itself difficult to understand.

APPENDIX J. (p. 433.)

ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE SPARTAN GENEALOGIES AND OTHER PELOPONNESIAN STATE ARCHIVES.

More weight is here due to the acute and cautious criticism of K. O. Müller than to the scepticism of Mr. Grote.[1] The latter author, while admitting the authenticity of the Olympian register in its full extent, denies all authority to the earlier Dorian archives on the ground that, as they are not mentioned or cited until a comparatively late period, there is no evidence that they were a genuine contemporary notation of events, and not rather, as he conjectures, a mere retrospective compilation of fabulous names and dates. This hypothesis, sufficiently arbitrary in itself in the case of documents the genuine character of which was recognised by Eratosthenes, proves too much for Mr. Grote's own argument; for the same test of authenticity on which he insists in their case fails to an equal or greater extent in that of the Olympic register itself. Neither Herodotus, Thucydides, nor any other historian prior to Timæus, as Mr. Grote himself has remarked[2], knew or appreciated the latter. When, therefore, we find Herodotus quoting the Spartan genealogical records as valid data, and overlooking the Olympic register altogether; when we find Charon of Lampsacus, a historian prior to Herodotus, also overlooking the Elean authorities, and making the Spartan series the basis of his commentaries on Greek national antiquity, we have at least, in so far as priority of citation is concerned, an argument of good two centuries in favour of the genuine character of the Spartan chronicles. Nor can it be denied, if any weight be given to the hypothesis of imposture in either case, that the temptation to pious fraud was quite as likely to operate on the Elean Hellenodicæ as on the magistrates or priesthood of Sparta or Argos.

[1] Hist. of Greece, vol. II. pp. 52. sqq. 452. sqq. [2] Ibid. vol. II. p. 52.

Is it not further obvious, admitting the full authenticity of the Olympic parapegmata, that the very fact of the Hellenic confederacy combining for the adoption of a common national system of chronology in 776 B.C. implies that the value of such registers had already been partially experienced and appreciated in the separate communities, especially in the neighbouring states of Peloponnesus?

Mr. Grote's other argument, that, because certain purely mythical notices are cited as forming the preamble to some of these genealogical registers, the remainder of their contents must be equally unauthentic, is also liable to the objection of overshooting its own mark. This argument would equally disprove the existence of an element of truth in the primitive chronicles on which all our knowledge of our own early history, as of that of the other countries of modern Europe, depends. Such documents, whether engraved or written, usually contain in every age a mythical preamble to their record of facts; and Eratosthenes, an author proverbial above all others of antiquity for critical scepticism in such matters, was, comparatively speaking, quite as well qualified to draw the distinction between historical truth and popular fiction in the Sicyonian or Spartan chronicles, as David Hume or Sismondi in those of Britain or of Tuscany. Beyond, in fact, the recorded belief of Eratosthenes and his contemporaries, backed by the acquiescence of the Greek public, we have, as already said, no evidence whatever of the genuine antiquity of the Olympic notation; and why should that acute critic not have been as competent to discriminate in the case of Argive and Spartan as of Elean dates?

It must, indeed, be apparent to every intelligent reader who peruses Mr. Grote's elaborate commentary on Fynes Clinton's views, that there is a fallacy running through his own argument; and that, as tested by the ultra-sceptical law of critical demonstration which he lays down, the admission of the Olympic register as a genuine document is as complete a petitio principii as what he calls Mr. Clinton's "unsupported conjecture" in favour of the other Peloponnesian archives. The case of the former record, when divested of the arbitrary title to exclusive infallibility set up for it by Mr. Grote, reduces itself simply to this: "that a certain chronicle of Elis, professing to embody the quadrennial notation of Olympic victors from the year 776 B.C. downwards, but unknown to, or not valued by, Herodotus, Thucydides, or any other earlier

standard Greek historian, is first mentioned or cited as valid chronology by the Greeks about the year 260 B. C., or upwards of five hundred years after its own assumed æra." It is certainly not easy to see how, according to Mr. Grote's rule of judgement in such cases, this document could be worth more than the Spartan royal genealogies which Charon and Herodotus knew and quoted as an authority, and which Eratosthenes so highly appreciated.

The object of these remarks is not to dispute the authenticity of the Olympic register, but merely to guard against the fallacy of making any assumption in its favour a handle for setting aside the claims of other records, the antiquity and credibility of which are at least as well or better attested. It is obvious that in every such case, where, at the best, no positive historical proof is attainable, the balance of historical probability must reduce itself very much to a reasonable indulgence to the weight of national conviction, and a deference to the testimony of the earliest and most critical native authorities: and we do not clearly understand the principle on which Mr. Grote would apply to the views of other modern inquirers a rigid test of critical demonstration, which, if similarly enforced in his own case, would be equally subversive of his own conclusions.

But the further question occurs: If the existence of all ante-Olympic written registers among the Greeks be discarded, where does Mr. Grote find his historical authorities for the series of real events, however meagre, which he admits during the several centuries between the Dorian conquest and the year 776 B. C.? Where or in what mode does he understand an Æolian, an Ionian, or a Dorian colonisation of Asia Minor or of Crete, a Lycurgean legislation, or even a Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus, to have been recorded with sufficient historical accuracy to admit of his adopting those events as historical facts? What proof is there that the Greek tribes who possessed the western shore of Asia Minor, or the Dorians who possessed Peloponnesus from the year 776 B. C. downwards, were not the aboriginal races of those regions? It seems evident, that, if earlier written records be excluded, no authority on these points can be adduced by Mr. Grote, better than that same popular tradition which he summarily sets aside as valueless when appealed to by Mr. Clinton.

APPENDIX K. (pp. 457. 459.)

ON THE LITERARY CULTURE OF THE SPARTANS.

THE misapprehension which prevails on this point, even among the more respectable modern scholars, renders it necessary here to enter upon it somewhat more in detail than were consistent with the continuity of the text.

Demaratus, the exiled king of Sparta, when at the court of the emperor Xerxes, writes a secret dispatch to his countrymen apprising them of the imperial project of invading Greece, and adopts a novel and somewhat puzzling expedient for concealing the contents of his letter, in case of treachery by the way. The Spartans, on receiving the epistle, are themselves at some loss for a solution of the enigma, which is effected by Gorgo, the wife of Leonidas. On the letter being read, copies of it are circulated among the Greek states.[1]

Pausanias, the Spartan commander at Platæa, when in Thrace on service, opens up a traitorous correspondence with the same Persian sovereign, and the contents of one of his letters are given by Thucydides. The Spartan magistrates at home, suspecting what was going on, dispatch a "scytalë" to him, intimating his recall. He obeys, but on his return to Sparta continues the secret negotiation. The matter is discovered by means of one of his own confidential messengers, who, suspicious of treachery on the part of his employer towards himself as well as the state, from having observed that none of the couriers previously sent on similar errands had returned, determines, before starting, to open and read his master's letter. He adopts at the same time the precaution of taking an impression of the seal, in order that, should his suspicion not be verified, he might again close the dispatch, and proceed to his destination. Finding, however, that the letter contained, among other matters, an injunction to destroy the messenger, he shows it to the ephori, and Pausanias is put to death.[2]

Throughout the vicissitudes of the Peloponnesian and other subsequent wars, epistolary communication, open and secret, is habitually carried on between the Spartan commanders or civil agents, and the Persian or Athenian authorities, as also among the

[1] Herodot. VII. CCXXXIX.

[2] Thucyd. I. CXXVIII. sqq.

Spartan officers themselves, by scytalë and otherwise.[1] One letter, from a Spartan sea officer to his admiral, is given by Xenophon[2] in the original Doric. Another, from a Persian satrap to the Spartan government, was in the Assyrian language, and hence, when intercepted by the Athenians, required the aid of an interpreter; thus showing that in Sparta, as well as in Athens, foreign as well as native scribes were familiar.[3]

Numerous long and complicated treaties of peace between the belligerent parties, given in full by Thucydides[4], are also from time to time drawn up, examined, discussed, and finally ratified by Spartan commissioners, sometimes ten or twelve in number. One of these treaties, between the Spartans and a Dorian ally, is given in the original Sparto-Dorian dialect.[5]

After the unfortunate battle of Leuctra, an order is issued by the Lacedæmonian government for receiving and entering in writing the names of such helots as were willing to serve in the army on condition of receiving their freedom; when about six thousand names were inscribed in a very short space of time.[6]

Throughout the history of these transactions in Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, there is not a hint of a single Spartan, of any rank or degree, being unable to read or write, wherever circumstances required it.

Equally or still more to the point is the indirect evidence of Plato's dialogues on the Republic and the Laws, especially that of the latter treatise. The basis or standard of the philosopher's whole political system, however modified to suit his own peculiar theories, is evidently the Sparto-Cretan constitution. The participators in the dialogue are an Athenian, a Spartan, and a Cretan. During the whole discussion, a knowledge of letters is expressly or tacitly assumed as an indispensable element of national and social economy interwoven with every institution of the state, in terms which were altogether preposterous in a dialogue one of the parties to which belonged to a commonwealth where the citizens

[1] Thucyd. IV. l., VIII. l.; Xen. Hell. III. iii. 9. sqq.

[2] Xenoph. Hell. I. i. 23. [3] Thucyd. IV. l.

[4] Thucyd. V. XVIII. sq. XXIII sqq. alibi; Xenoph. Hellen. VI. iii. in fine.

[5] Thucyd. V. LXXVI. sqq.

[6] Xenoph. Hellen. VI. v. 29. See also the account by Xenophon (III. iii. 4. sqq.) of the conspiracy of Cinadon. Numerous other illustrations might be adduced from Plutarch and other later writers. The above have been selected from contemporary authorities alone.

were not only illiterate, but illiterate under the sanction of the government itself. In the treatise On laws, the rule adopted in the chapter more immediately devoted to the question of education is precisely that assumed in the text above to have actually existed in Sparta; "that a knowledge of letters, for practical purposes, should be common to all, but that no specific encouragement should be given to the cultivation of elegant or speculative literature,"[1] although neither are formally excluded. In the whole two and twenty books of the combined treatises not a syllable transpires intimating either directly or by innuendo that the Spartan was less competent to judge from personal experience in such matters than the Athenian, or that any remark made, or principle inculcated, was repugnant to his habits or feelings; while, in various passages[2] specially allusive to Sparta, both writing habits and written laws are assumed to have existed in that state from the time of Lycurgus downwards.

It is to be regretted that, in the face of these facts, and others referred to in the text of the present and previous chapters of this work, so intelligent a writer as Mr. Grote should, in a critical history of the Greek nation, have formally pronounced the Spartan people, the type and representative of one of the two grand subdivisions of that nation, to have been, at the acme of their moral and political power and influence in Greece and in the civilised world, "destitute even of the elements of letters."[3] This conclusion is grounded on the sole authority of a text of the Panathenaica of Isocrates, a most partial and prejudiced witness at the best, and more especially so in a treatise the plain object of which is to exalt the glory of Athens at the expense of Sparta, by a tissue of unscrupulous exaggeration and misrepresentation. The passage of that treatise here more immediately in question is but one among other gross falsehoods which could never have found favour with any but a bigoted Athenian public; and the only apology for which, on the part of the otherwise amiable author, is that suggested by himself, the advanced age of ninety-four, at which his work was composed, and the consequent failure of his faculties, which he himself acknowledges and excuses on the same plea.

[1] De Legg. p. 809. sq.
[2] p. 858 c. E.
[3] Hist. of Greece, vol. II. p. 517.

APPENDIX L. (p. 484. sqq.)

ON THE LETTERS OF BELLEROPHON.

Il. VI. 168.:

πέμπε δέ μιν Λυκίηνδε, πόρεν δ' ὅγε σήματα λυγρά,
γράψας ἐν πίνακι πτυκτῷ θυμοφθόρα πολλά,
δεῖξαι δ' ἠνώγει ᾧ πενθερῷ ὄφρ' ἀπόλοιτο.
αὐτὰρ ὁ βῆ Λυκίηνδε θεῶν ὑπ' ἀμύμονι πομπῇ . . . .
προφρονέως μιν τῖεν ἄναξ Λυκίης εὐρείης . . . .
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δεκάτη ἐφάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς,
καὶ τότε μιν ἐρέεινε, καὶ ἤτεε σῆμα ἰδέσθαι,
ὅττι ῥά οἱ γαμβροῖο πάρα Προίτοιο φέροιτο.
αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ σῆμα κακὸν παρεδέξατο γαμβροῦ
πρῶτον μέν ῥα Χίμαιραν . . . . . .

The properly technical terms defining the character of the epistle are, in this passage, *γράφειν*, *πίναξ πτυκτός*, *σῆμα*; the first signifying "to write;" the second, the form and material of the epistle; the third, the characters employed. Even those who reject the opinion that the characters were alphabetic do not discover in these three terms any thing actually inconsistent with that opinion. A more serious objection has been founded on the poet's employment of the verb *δεῖξαι*. "That phrase," it is urged, "would, in its ordinary import of 'show,' or 'exhibit,' be inapplicable to the mere delivery of a letter, and must refer to some species of conventional cipher or hieroglyphic, intelligible only to those to and from whom it was transmitted." Upon this view, however, it would also be necessary to assume that the contents of the tablet were open to the inspection of the bearer, since a man cannot be said to show to another what is concealed or shut up from himself. The same inference would result from the supposed symbolic nature of the writing. There could be little use in closing up or concealing what, even if seen, were incomprehensible to all but those who possessed the key to the cipher. Yet the epithet "folded" (*πτυκτός*), applied to the epistle, sufficiently proves, by reference to the whole train of Greek idiomatic usage in every age, that the tablet was so closed and concealed; that it was, in fact, a sealed letter. On this point indeed there is no difference[1]

[1] Apollodorus (II. iii. 1.) and Plutarch call it *ἐπιστολή*; Cicero, tabellas obsignatas. Heyne: "Quæ tabulæ fuerint, ex ipsis Homeri verbis

of opinion among critics either antient or modern. Any argument, therefore, in favour of the symbolic import of the writing, derived from the use of δεῖξαι, must fall to the ground, that term being, in its literal sense of "show," equally inapplicable to a "sealed letter," whether its contents were couched in one species of writing or another.

In connexion with the above argument grounded on the use of δεῖξαι, another negative inference has been drawn from the non-occurrence of ἀναγιγνώσκω, or parallel phrases denoting "to read," in this passage or in the Homeric poems. It must here be observed that the term ἀναγιγνώσκω, like most others in the same category, bears in itself no essential relation to the alphabetic art, denoting simply to "recognise," or take up the sense of a thing; and is only transferred, in more technical use, to the "recognising" or taking up the sense of written characters. In the same way, γράφω means simply to engrave or mark, and was afterwards transferred, by a similar process, to the engraving or marking of letters. Γράμμα is a thing engraved, afterwards an alphabetic element. How far, therefore, in any case, these or other similar terms are to be taken in a primary or in a technical sense must depend on the discretion of the interpreter; nor perhaps would it have been easy for the poet to introduce any one of them in such a manner as to interfere with the views of one prepossessed in favour of their more elementary import. If πίναξ πτυκτός, instead of a sealed letter, be understood to denote a mere hieroglyphical tablet; if γράψαι, instead of to write in the familiar sense, be explained as the mere engraving of some enigmatical cipher on the surface of that tablet; if the σήματα are to be interpreted as figurative rather than alphabetic "signs;" upon the same principle, had the term ἀνέγνω occurred in this very passage to signify the inspection of the tablet by Jobates, it might be interpreted merely of his "recognising" or comprehending the symbolic import of those signs.[1]

But in reasoning separately on the powers of these two verbs,

intelligas: fuere complicatæ; pertulit adeo eas Bellerophon obsignatas." With Herodotus, in like manner, VII. ccxxxix., a sealed letter is δελτίον δίπτυχον. With Herodian, VII. vi. (xiv.), as with Homer, it is πτυκτὸς πίναξ. Conf. Heyn. Obss. ad Il. VI. 168.

[1] Even γράμματ' ἀνέγνω might be explained of his having "recognised the import of the things engraved."

δεῖξαι and ἀναγνῶναι, we must not overlook an important connexion between them as affecting any such question. Δείκνυμι, or δείκω, and ἀναγιγνώσκω are in their primary signification correlative terms, denoting, the one to "show," the other to "recognise or apprehend" the import of the thing shown. The latter, as we have seen, has, in the abstract, no more to do with the act of "reading" than the former with that of "presenting" a letter. The fact, therefore, that the one came, in the progress of language, to be used in the more technical sense of "read," affords a fair ground of conjecture that the other may, in the course of the same vicissitudes of idiom, have been employed in that of "present." And this conjecture is raised to certainty by the analogy of the deponent δέχομαι, to "receive" or "accept from," [1] and by that of the Homeric use of the middle δείκνυμαι in the same sense. An author is always his own best interpreter; and in the sequel of this very passage the poet himself supplies evidence that he meant the phrase to be so understood; for, a few verses lower, the term παρεδέξατο, applied to the "acceptance" by Jobates of the tablet, responds to δεῖξαι, as denoting its "delivery." Here, again, allowance must be made both for poetical and antiquated diction, and for the license claimed by and conceded to poets of all ages in the adaptation of subtle or unpoetical arts to their verse. If an example can be adduced of the familiar employment, by one of our own standard poets, of this same expression "show" for "deliver" in the case of a sealed letter, it were hard to deny Homer the same indulgence. The case in point is to be found in Pope's elegant version of this very passage, where few readers probably have ever been aware of any peculiarity; yet the anomaly, if such it be, is still more glaring than in Homer:

> "To Lycia the devoted youth he sent,
> With tablets sealed that told his dire intent; . . . .
> But when the tenth bright morning orient glowed,
> The faithful youth his monarch's mandate showed . . . .
> The fatal tablets, till that instant sealed,
> The deathful secret to the king revealed."

It is certain that, in the familiar sense, Bellerophon here, as in the original, showed no mandate, but presented his dispatch to the king, who opened and read for himself.

The third of the three properly technical terms above enumerated,

[1] See Damm. δέκω, δείκω, do in manus; δέκομαι, capio manu.

σῆμα, has, like those already considered, no necessary connexion with writing of any kind.[1] It denotes in its origin, like γράμμα, a line or mark, in its familiar application a sign or token. It may here indicate, therefore, a sign either of a sound, a word, or an idea, and may be rendered, according to the discretion or caprice of the interpreter, either letter, cipher, or symbol. Although the phrase is not used, in the familiar language of later times, in the sense of alphabetic letter, yet such, by reference to poetical or primitive usage, as has been admitted by the more candid opponents of Homer's alphabetic knowledge, would here be its natural signification.[2] An objection has, however, been discovered in the designation of the tablet by the singular σῆμα, as implying a single sign or symbol, not groups of characters. But this obstacle is removed by the occurrence in the previous text of the plural σήματα, in identically the same sense as σῆμα, and supplying further affirmative evidence of the connexion of both terms with the alphabetic art in the poet's usage, by the very curious parallel which results between their own power and that of their vernacular synonymes, γράμμα and γράμματα, in later times. Γράμμα in the singular denotes, first, engraved line or mark; secondly, alphabetic character (letter); thirdly, written document, letter, epistle. The plural, γράμματα, signifies either the written substance of an epistle or the epistle itself (literas, lettres). In like manner σῆμα, signifying in its primary sense engraved line or mark, denotes in this pas-

[1] Another passage of the Iliad (VII. 175. sqq.), in which the term σῆμα occurs in a still more ambiguous sense, has been adduced as evidence, sometimes against a knowledge of writing, sometimes in its favour. The seven heroes, when drawing lots for the honour of fighting Hector, make each his mark or cipher, σῆμα, on his own lot. The lots are then shaken together in a helmet. One is drawn and handed round till acknowledged by its owner. This mode of sortition is not perhaps the most effective or impartial that could be devised in an age either of letters or of barbarism. But whether the σῆμα was an alphabetic letter or word, a cipher, a symbol, a number, or a mere mark or scratch, remains altogether doubtful.

[2] Eumelus (765 B. C.), in his Delian Prosodium (Paus. IV. XXXIII. 3.), has Μοῖσα .... ἐλεύθερα σάμαθ' ἔχουσα. There seems here no ground whatever for rejecting the authorised reading, nor can it admit of any other plausible interpretation but as allusive to the written compositions of the Muse of Ithome. The attempts at emendation are as unsuccessful as superfluous.

sage, in the singular, a letter or epistle simply; in the plural, its substance or contents.[1] Adding these considerations to the argument founded in the text above on the phrase *θυμοφθόρα πολλά*, there ought to remain no reasonable doubt on any unprejudiced mind that the characters of Bellerophon's epistle were alphabetic: and that any apparent ambiguity in the poet's expression is owing partly to the primitive state of the practice of writing and its terminology at the period in which he flourished, partly to the difficulty, common to himself with other poets in more civilised times, of adapting the technical terms of subtle arts to the purposes of his muse.

With Glaucus's description of Bellerophon's letters may be compared the following address of Ovid to one of his own epistles:[2]

Ite hinc difficiles, funebria ligna, tabellæ,
Tuque negaturis cera referta notis.

If Ovid, in the age of Augustus, was at liberty to use the term "mark" for alphabetic character, and to call his letter a "mournful slab of wood," in order to give a poetical turn to his allusion to epistolary correspondence, surely a like indulgence may be extended to a poet of the ante-Olympic æra.

[1] Etym. M. *γράμμα ὁ χαρακτήρ, γράμμα ἡ ἐπιστολή*. Conf. Thucyd. v. xxix. 1.; Theocrit. xxiii. 46.; Xenoph. Cyr. Inst. viii. vi. 17. Isæus uses the phrase *γράμματα σεμνά* to denote the moral import of a document, with a power consequently almost identical with that of the *σήματα λυγρά* of Homer. Reiske, p. 148. The parallel between the obsolete idiom of Homer and the vernacular of Thucydides, which extends also to the Latin, French, and English tongues, will more plainly appear from the following collation of examples. Homer: *πόρεν δ' ὅγε σήματα*; literas dedit; il lui donna des lettres; Thucydides: *ἐσπέμπει γράμματα*. Homer: *ἤτεε σῆμα ἰδέσθαι ὅττι ῥά οἱ Προίτοιο πάρα, ...* he asked to see the letter from Prœtus; and: *ἐπειδὴ σῆμα κακὸν παρεδέξατο*, on receiving the fatal letter. So Thucydides: *τοῦτο μὲν τὸ γράμμα μάλιστα τὴν Πελοπόννησον διεθορύβει*. We have only, in each passage of the Iliad, to substitute *γράμμα* in the same case and number as *σῆμα*, and the analogy is complete.

[2] Amor. i. xii. 7.; conf. Virgil. Æn. iii. 444. Add the verse of Timon, ap. Sext. Empir. adv. Mathem. i. ii. 53.:

ἀνδρὶ διδασκαμένῳ Φοινικικὰ σήματα Κάδμου.

APPENDIX M. (p. 490.)

ON THE OBJECTIONS TO A PRIMITIVE WRITTEN TEXT OF HOMER FOUNDED ON THE PECULIARITIES OF HIS DIALECT.

THE arguments against a written Homer, grounded on certain peculiarities of idiom and orthography in the existing text of the poems, especially on the traces of a former use of the digamma in their dialect, have been upon the whole comparatively little countenanced either by Wolf or his more critical disciples. It was hoped, therefore, that there might have been no call for here opening up a discussion which, beyond the few general remarks offered in a preliminary chapter, belongs rather to the department of etymology or palæography than to that of literary history, and which, besides, has obtained, above all others perhaps within the range of classical criticism, a fatal celebrity for dry pedantic subtlety. The arguments in question have, however, lately been renewed in a more confident tone, and with an elaborate profuseness of learned detail, which, added to the otherwise practical value of the researches[1] with which they are combined, has not been without influence on the critical public. It becomes, therefore, necessary here to enter somewhat more at large on the general subject than might otherwise have been desirable.

The two more important of these objections may be stated as follows:

I. "The digamma was originally 'a pure consonant' in the Greek language, and possessed all the powers of that class of elements in creating position, obviating elision, fixing metrical quantity, and the like. Its consonant power was, however, gradually modified in more refined usage, and finally among the Ionians became obsolete with the character itself. Hence the anomaly, that while in one text of Homer the digamma is found forming metrical position, as in φαρμακα Fειδως, αρμα Fανακτος, in others it possesses no such influence, as in αρμαθ' Fανακτων, αγασσομεθ' Fειδος Fιδοντες. But had Homer himself committed his poems to writing, or had they been written while the digamma power still existed in his dialect, the digamma character would have been employed at least in the former class of passages. That it was not so employed is, however, proved by its acknowledged absence from

[1] Giese de Dialect. Æol. p. 159. sqq. 169. sqq.

the text of the poems at any period to which their written existence can be traced, and by an equal absence, on the part of the antient editors, of all knowledge of its former presence in the manuscripts. The poems therefore, it must be concluded, were neither committed to writing by their author, nor until after the final extinction of the digamma in the poetico-Ionian dialect." [1]

II. The second objection to a written Iliad is grounded on the uncertainties of grammatical form and flexion in the poet's idiom, especially on the numerous varieties or licenses of metrical usage in the same words, or in words subject to the same law of formation. "These anomalies," it is maintained, "indicate a language as yet dependant for its cultivation on the taste or caprice of the popular poets, to the exclusion of any such degree of literary culture as would admit of two such voluminous poems being embodied in writing." [2]

First, then, with respect to the digamma. The primary assumption that this element originally possessed the full power of a pure consonant, the assumption on which this whole theory is essentially based, is here met at the outset by a simple denial. No such power, it is contended, ever belonged to the digamma, or Greek Vau. It was never, in any state of the language, more than what it has been described in a previous chapter of this work [3], "a liquid guttural or aspirate, like the Semitic element the form and name of which it inherited, imparting emphasis to the initial vowels of words or syllables, and possessing, with certain limitations, the power of creating metrical position." But these vague and indefinite properties, as will be shown in the course of the following remarks, were not such as to entitle it at any period, or in any variety of Hellenic orthography, to a regular or habitual place in the written texts of the popular epic poems.

In order to a right estimate of the whole bearings of the question here involved, it will be proper, in the first place, to consider wherein consists the essential character of that class of elements called consonants, as distinguished, on the one hand, from the

[1] Giese, op. cit. pp. 160. 171. sq. 177. 185.; conf. Grote, Hist. of Gr. vol. II. p. 197.; Smith, Dict. of Ant. vol. II. p. 502.; Bernhardy, Grundriss der Griech. Liter. pt. I. pp. 219. 223.; Müller, Hist. of Gr. Lit. vol. I. p. 38.

[2] Giese, op. cit. p. 157.; Bernhardy, op. cit. p. 226.; Müll. op. cit. loc. cit.

[3] Vol. I. p. 85.

vowels, or, on the other, from that intermediate class of elements usually comprised under the head of aspirates, the functions of which are to modify, without essentially altering, the character of words or syllables. In the first place, then, a pure consonant in the Greek, as in most other languages, may, as a general rule, be described as the essentially radical element of words, a vowel as the secondary or auxiliary element. It is true that, while there are in the Greek vocabulary radical terms consisting of vowels alone, there are others containing consonants which are merely auxiliary, and without claims to primary radical power. But this, in each case, is the exception to the rule, and in the latter case a rare exception. The rule itself will be best illustrated by examples of roots in which both elements are combined. Take, for instance, the primary Greek root *βαλ*, to strike. The vowel here may be extensively varied, or even altogether omitted, without any detriment to the radical value of the word; as, for instance, in *βελ* (*βελος*), *βολ* (*βολη*), *βλ* (*βλητο*). But the moment either of the consonants is subtracted or another substituted in its place, *αλ*, *ελ*, *ολ*; *μαλ*, *μελ*, *μολ*, both sound and signification are completely changed. Any such subtraction or substitution of pure consonants is certainly an anomaly unexemplified and inconceivable in the actual formation or flexion of the Greek tongue. This strange anomaly, however, is what is assumed by the theory here in question, as to every word of which the digamma, in the primitive Greek dialect, formed an element.

It is indeed true, as already stated, that in certain cases consonants may, even in primitive Greek roots, be omitted or varied without affecting the sense of those roots. Such licenses take place in all languages; but there is no analogy between these incidental anomalies and the arbitrary suppression at pleasure, or the entire dismissal, as here supposed, of a particular consonant from the vocabulary. For example, that in rare or partial instances words commencing with a λ, or some such liquid letter, may also be pronounced without it, as in *λειβω*, *ειβω*, can be quoted but as a natural and elegant variety of etymological formation. These are, in fact, different words expressing the same idea. But that in *all* words beginning with λ, such as *λεγω*, *λειπω*, *λυω*, the λ should either be completely dropped, or, what is worse, omitted or added at pleasure, so that they might also be pronounced at discretion *εγω*, *ειπω*, *υω*, were something unheard of. This, however, is what is assumed in the theory of the con-

sonant-digamma, according to which such words as Fεπω, Fελω, Fαναξ might also be pronounced and written επω, ελω, αναξ.

Next to its radicality the most essential property of a Greek consonant is its density or solidity, as contrasted with the tenuity or liquidity of the vowels and of other weaker elements. This property is chiefly exhibited in the power of creating metrical position; a power possessed by consonants not as a mere accidental or occasional privilege, but as a fundamental and inalienable right. But this right is completely violated, or rather set aside, in the digamma theory, where such phrases as επι Fιδων are contracted into επιδων, απεFοικισε becomes απωκισε, Fιεμαι admits such-constructions as αμφω δ' ιεσθην, and so forth. It certainly seems surprising how any competent Greek scholar should ever have been led to class an element subject to such accidents under the head of pure consonant.

Attempts have, however, been made by the more ingenious advocates of the consonant-digamma theory to evade some of these difficulties, on the plea that Homer's dialect can, after all, as modified by Ionian influences, supply no genuine criterion of the primitive powers of the element; and that appeal must be made preferably, as authorities on its earlier history, to other purer dialectical standards, to those more especially of the Æolian family, in which the digamma sound was more thoroughly indigenous and longer preserved. It seems, at the best, very doubtful how far in this or in any similar question it may be allowable to set aside the authority of Homer, the fountain head of all practical knowledge of the epic dialect, in favour of any other later standard of idiom, merely from that idiom happening to have longer retained a particular element in vernacular usage. But be this as it may, the appeal to the other supposed higher authority is not fortunate. The evidence both of the Æolian lyric poets, among whom alone traces of a digamma remained in the later poetical style, and of the Æolian monumental inscriptions, is perhaps still less favourable than the usage of Homer to the consonant power of the digamma. The grammarians who allude to the use of the element in the text of the Æolian poets describe it as there also of the same inconstant and fluctuating nature as in the old epic dialect[1]; and this view is amply borne out by the remaining compositions of those poets. In their text, as in that of the Iliad and Odyssey, sometimes the digamma appears to possess the full

[1] Priscian, I. p. 546. ed. Putsch.

power of a consonant, sometimes it forfeits that power altogether. Its influence also varied in the works of different authors, the same word "digammatised" by one remaining unaffected in the text of another. The extant monumental inscriptions where the digamma occurs as a written element tell the same story. The following illustrations, derived from both these sources, have been restricted chiefly to words in which the influence of the initial digamma, whether as illustrated by the text of Homer, by the authority of the grammarians, or by the analogy of the kindred dialects, is best ascertained, and most familiar to scholars:

οικος. This word, habitually affected by the digamma in Homer, is quoted, accordingly, by Dionysius Hal. among his standard examples derived from the primitive dialects. Yet in Sappho the element is powerless: ουκ ασινης παρϜοικεις; ου γαρ τλασομ' εγω συνϜοικειν; and Alcman has αγρϜοικος.

ειπειν. Among the passages of the Æolian lyric poets commonly cited by modern critics, as illustrating the use of the digamma in the text of those authors, are two lines of the celebrated dialogue between Alcæus and Sappho:

θελω τι Ϝειπην, αλλα με κωλυει . . . . .
και μη τι Ϝειπην γλωσσ' εκυκα κακον.

Yet elsewhere we have in the same poets: εν Σπαρτᾳ λογον ουκ απαλαμνον Ϝειπην· and αικ' Ϝειπης τα θελεις.

ειδον. In this word, so extensively digammatised by Homer, and Latinised as video, the element seems to assert its consonant power but in a single passage of the Æolian poets, ως σε γαρ Ϝιδω. In numerous instances, on the other hand, the term is used in such a manner as to exclude that power: οσσον Ϝιδειν, τουτο συνϜοιδα, φαεννον Ϝειδος, προσϜιδοισαν.

εργον, αναξ. In these terms the consonant power is promiscuously enforced or discarded in Æolic usage, precisely as in Homer, at the discretion of the individual poets. Alcæus: πρωτιστ' υπο Ϝεργον εσταμεν τοδε. But Sappho: Λυδιον καλον Ϝεργον. Alcman has: ου γαρ εγωγε Ϝανασσα, and και τοι Ϝαναξ, but also Ευτειχη τ' Ϝανακτα.

ου εο. Even here, where the consonant power of the digamma is held throughout the Hellenic dialects to have been most universally and permanently enforced, Alcæus seems to discard it: νοω δ' Ϝεαυτω παμπαν αερρεται.[1]

[1] See the remains of Alcman, Alcæus, and Sappho in the collections quoted in Chapters iv. and v. of Book III. in this volume.

The same or even greater lubricity is observable in the orthography of the Æolian monumental inscriptions.[1] In the Elean tablet the digamma is appended to several of the words known to have been susceptible of digammatic influence: Fαργον (=Fεργαν), Fετος, Fεπος, and others. In the Petilian inscription, on the other hand, and in one Bœotian monument, we find δημωργος, and in several Bœotian inscriptions ενεργεταν. Foικια appears in the Petilian and in an antient Argive inscription, and in the Bœotian monuments is the customary orthography. Yet in the latter the digamma also occasionally disappears, as in αγρυκιχος. On the same monuments we find, side by side, Fαναξιων and κλιωναξ. An Olympic helmet has ΔιFι; but the Elean inscription, though of more antient date than that helmet, prefers the contracted form Δι. The Melian inscription has αFυτο; but in all other Æolian monuments the word is written in the usual manner.

It appears, therefore, that every authority or example, of every age, poetry or prose, literary texts or inscribed monuments, hitherto quoted in illustration of the nature of this element, proves it to have been throughout of the same fluctuating unsteady nature as in the text of Homer. There is one authority, however, hitherto overlooked, which might and ought to have been appealed to, even preferably to Homer, for light on the primitive powers of the digamma, and which furnishes perhaps the most conclusive argument yet adduced against the modern theory; we allude to the text of the Æolian Hesiod. A few previous remarks will be necessary on the local history of the digamma in the native district of that author.

The use of this element appears to have been longest retained in monumental usage by the Bœotian states. Up to Olymp. CXLV. it occurs in the Bœotian inscriptions (in the irregular mode above noticed) in most of the words where traces of it are perceptible in Homer; as in Foικος, Fετος, Fισος, Fαναξ, and others. At the above epoch, however, the Attic, or rather the modern Hellenic dialect and orthography superseded, at least in the public documents, and apparently in a very rapid manner, the old provincial practice, and the digamma henceforward disappears entirely from those monuments. Now any such summary banishment on the part of any people, whether by tacit consent or by imperial decree, of a "pure consonant" from their vocabulary,

[1] See Boeckh, Corp. Inscr. Gr. vol. I. p. 9. sqq. 735. sqq.; Franz, Elem. Epigraph. Gr. p. 62. sqq.

without the substitution of some cognate equivalent, to maintain the radical sense of the words in which the consonant so banished had previously existed, were, it may be broadly asserted, a thing unheard of and inconceivable. The notion of a gradual discontinuance of such an element is sufficiently improbable, but its sudden dismissal is incredible. The mere substitution, by the Bœotian authorities, of certain more polished for other ruder dialectical forms of the common language were nothing remarkable, and has frequently happened in similar cases. But the alteration which it would here, in terms of the consonant-digamma theory, be necessary to assume, would have involved such a revolution in the nomenclature of the country as would have deranged or confounded all the relations of society. Men might have agreed to substitute the more elegant form μετα for πεδα, ξυν for συν, or to omit or add a ρ in πολεμος; but the notion of their having consented to the sudden banishment of a pure consonant, of a π or a δ, for example, from their entire vocabulary, so that the name of a man formerly Προξενος was to become Ροξενος, and such words as πυλη, παλλω, ποσος were to be transformed into υλη, αλλω, οσος, is obviously absurd. Such a change were only conceivable in the case of some subsidiary sound not radically essential to words, but merely endued with a power of modifying and sustaining other letters and syllables. Such a sound the digamma evidently was among the Bœotians at this period, and such it was also beyond a doubt at every period of its existence in the Greek alphabet.

This ascertained inveteracy of the element in Bœotian usage down to so late an epoch naturally points out the primitive poetical literature of Bœotia, and by consequence the Works and Days of Hesiod, the oldest and most genuine representative of that literature, as the proper source in which to seek illustrations of the primitive power of the element in literary practice. Hesiod, in fact, combines in his person all the requisites for constituting his text the best and truest type of the influence and use of the Æolian digamma. A poet of purest Æolian descent, himself a native of the region of Europe, his parents of that of Asia, in each of which regions the element continued to retain its powers most inveterate to the latest period, he boasts also an antiquity equal or little inferior to that of Homer himself. Every suspicion too, in his case, of exposure to Ionian "undigammatical" influences is excluded by his own express statement, that he had never crossed the sea in his life but from the Æolian Bœotia to the equally Æolian Eubœa. But Hesiod's use of the digamma, both in its strength and

in its weakness, in its constancy and its lubricity, is identical with that of Homer, as well as with that of his own Æolian kinsmen in Lesbos, Elis, Orchomenus, and Magna Græcia, from the seventh down to the second century B. C. The element possessed, therefore, as little the power of a "pure consonant" in the most primitive Æolo-Bœotian epic dialect as in the supposed degenerate usage of the Iliad and Odyssey.

If there be any weight in the modern theory, that, in whatever period or country the digamma happened to be still prevalent in vernacular or monumental usage, it must necessarily have been employed in the manuscript or purely literary orthography of that period or country, such employment would infallibly and à fortiori have found place in the earliest copies of the standard national poem of a region distinguished above all others in Greece for its inveterate attachment to the element. Yet there occurs among the antient critics as little allusion to a written digamma in the older editions of Hesiod as in those of Homer. The fallacy, therefore, of any palæographical argument or inference founded on the history of either text is equally obvious. It might perhaps be urged by those who deny all spread or influence of practical literature beyond the limits of Ionia prior to the time of Pisistratus, that, wherever composed, the poems of Hesiod would be first committed to writing in that country, and would hence be subjected to the same orthographic law as the poems of Homer. Admitting, however, the Ionian scribes to have sent over to the Bœotians an editio princeps of their national poet where one of their own "pure consonants" was omitted, and where consequently not only the hiatus and other anomalies involved by that omission abounded, but the radical sense of many words was corrupted or extinguished; what would have been the course of the Bœotians themselves in so strange a predicament? Assuredly, if the employment of the digamma in poetical orthography by all poets or editors themselves habituated to the vernacular use of that element were as indispensable as is assumed in the popular digamma theory, the first care of the Bœotian readers of the Bœotian poet would have been, in their transcripts of the poem, to remedy so offensive an omission. Would the curators, for example, of the Heliconian shrine, in that boasted antient copy of the national bard suspended in metal plates over the sacred fountain of the Muses, have been willing to dispense with an essential element of its text, merely because the same element had been denied a place in the

versions of a school of Ionian scribes altogether ignorant of the digamma power or of the genius and spirit of the dialect in which the work itself was composed?

It seems difficult to escape the inference from the above series of illustrations, that, whatever may have been the case with monumental inscriptions, the digamma never at any period, either in Ionia, Bœotia, or Æolia, in the epic poetry of Homer or Hesiod, or in the lyric odes of Alcæus or Sappho, formed a necessary ingredient of manuscript orthography. The reason seems also apparent. Being a mere liquid element, the powers of which could be sustained or dispensed with at the discretion of the poet, it seemed more elegant, as well as convenient, to omit it constantly, than to insert it constantly, where its effects were so inconstant. The remaining alternative, to omit it or insert it by turns in the same word from metrical considerations, as its powers were alternately to be exercised or suspended, would have had a singularly incongruous effect, and would have been an anomaly which, as repugnant to the general law and usage of polite orthography in every age in similar cases, we are not entitled, on mere speculative grounds, to assume had ever been sanctioned either by Homer himself or by the primitive literature of his country and race.[1]

Attention will now be briefly directed to the other argument against a written Homer, founded on the uncertainties of verbal forms and flexions in the poems, especially on the numerous varieties and licenses of metrical usage in the same words, or in words subject to the same general law of metrical analogy. "These anomalies," it is urged[2], "exhibit an idiom as yet in that unsettled state which shows it to have been still dependant for its

[1] The author is not aware that there exists any authority for the assumption of Giese (op. cit. pp. 170. 176.), that the digamma was ever actually employed in this strangely anomalous manner in the written text of the Æolian poets any more than in that of Homer. The notices of the grammarians on which Giese seems to ground this opinion apply, in so far as deserving of critical attention, not to a written digamma, but merely to the metrical influence of the element in the dialect of those poets; to its power of creating position, obviating hiatus, and the like. This power is naturally recognised by those grammarians in the works of Æolian authors composing in the Æolian dialect, a dialect in which the influence of the element was in every age admitted and understood; while they overlooked or denied the same power in similar texts of Homer, he being considered as an Ionian, not as an Æolian poet.

[2] Giese, op. cit. p. 157. sqq.; Bernhardy, Grundr. der Griech. Literat. pt. 1. pp. 222. 225.; Müller, Hist. of Gr. Lit. p. 38.

developement or cultivation on the taste and caprice of the popular rehearsals; and preclude, consequently, the belief in the existence of such a state of literary culture in the poet's time as could admit of two such voluminous compositions having been committed to writing." Here we have another signal example of the fallacy already repeatedly noticed, of judging the literature of the dark ages of Greece by laws which would be absurd in their application to the parallel stage of letters in any historical period.

It will not surely be denied that the ballad poetry of Germany was preserved in writing during many centuries of a poetical and grammatical fluctuation in the dialects in which it was composed, equalling, or greatly surpassing, any similar fluctuation that can be found in the idiom of Homer. If, therefore, the argument regarding the Greek poems be worth any thing, it would equally prove that the German language could not have been a written tongue at the period when the existing Nibelungen Lied was composed, or indeed prior to the days of Luther. A still more pointed illustration may be derived from the early English poets. The text of Chaucer, between whom and Homer there are various other features of analogy, presents a mass of poetical and grammatical licenses rivalling, or even surpassing, those of the Iliad and Odyssey. Although the English, as a comparatively unpoetical tongue, lent itself less freely to poetical modifications, yet all or most of the dialectical phenomena recapitulated by the opponents (Giese, p. 158.) of a written Iliad find their parallel in Chaucer, and would by consequence equally prove an unwritten Pilgrimage to Canterbury. Many of these anomalies are inherited by the English poet from his predecessors; many, perhaps more, originate with himself.

The following illustrations have been selected out of others innumerable, pervading every page, almost every stanza, of the Canterbury Tales.

Subjoined are examples of parts of speech which occur under varieties of form adapted at discretion by the poet to his metre or his rhyme.

Himself and himselven; hir, hirë, her, herë (their), pronounced as a monosyllable or as bisyllabic, according as may be required; ours and ourn; arn and ben (are); con and can; mighte and moghte; willen and wollen; haven and have (3d p. plur.); whan and whannë (when); aboute and abouten; sote, swote, swete (sweet); die and dey; had and yhadde; slain and yslawe; fonden and yfonde (found); comen and come; and so throughout the participles.

A few more specific illustrations are added:

Wedding, coming, are sometimes iambic feet, as above written; sometimes trochees, wédding, cóming, as now.

Many of our now familiar idioms were in Chaucer's usage poetical licenses. Cróppĕs, lórdĕs, the regular forms in his day, are also employed by him ad libitum, monosyllabically, as now (crops, lords).

The varieties frequently occur in contiguous verses:

> The day is cómen of hirë departing,
> I say the woeful day fatál is come.

In the Prologue, v. 13., the regular infinitive to seken becomes in v. 18., for the sake of the rhyme, to seke; and in the next verse (19.) the latter word seke is repeated, also for the sake of the rhyme, in the sense of sick, usually written sike by Chaucer.

In v. 6133, 6134., to be seie (seen) rhymes to pleie (play). The more regular form of the first term was then, as now, seen.

In v. 6011, 6012. a wood león rhymes to conclusión.

In v. 6375, 6376. a wood leown rhymes to adown.

To exhaust this subject would be to transcribe half the text of the Canterbury Tales.[1]

So little does the familiar practice of writing interpose obstacles to the licentious fluctuation of forms in a naturally unsettled and semibarbarous tongue, that it may in many cases, as in that here in question, rather tend to promote those irregularities. As the learned Chaucer, on the strength of his high poetical and literary authority, interlards his text, and corrupts his native language, with novelties of his own invention or of foreign importation, so Homer, a poet of extensive travel, and of equally high authority in his day, may have exercised, and doubtless did exercise, a similar privilege of seasoning the transmitted poetical dialect with the spirited varieties of idiom prevalent in different parts of Greece.

ADDITION to p. 501.

THUCYDIDES (II. ii.), while overlooking the Olympic register, adopts that of the priestesses of Juno Argiva, conjointly with those of the Spartan Ephors and Athenian Archons, as a standard chronological guide.

[1] See the Oxf. 4to edit. and Tyrrwhit's Prelim. Dissert.

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